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ABSTRACT

These five papers reflect a single project--discourse analysis in the curriculum. The first paper, "The Small Group Course as a Setting for Naturalistic Research" (Charles Petrie and Charles Laufersweiler), describes the teaching process of integrating both a graduate and an undergraduate class from which the other four papers describe resulting research. The second paper, "Discourse Analysis: Making One's Interpretations Explicit" (Stuart J. Sigman), presents four problem areas that represent methodological skills and decisions with which student (and professional) discourse analysts must concern themselves. The third paper, "Nonverbal Correlates of Within-Turn Speaker Repetitions" (William J. Morphis), describes an investigation that assessed nonverbal behavior occurring exclusively during within-turn speaker dysfluencies--specifically, repetitions. The fourth paper, "The Interactional Construction of Group Meaning" (Sheila Sullivan), presents a description and analysis of a small group meeting. The final paper, "Questions in Group Discourse" (Marcley H. Wendell), describes an investigation that focused on the strategic uses of questioning to direct the process, content, and outcomes of group work. (HOD)

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PANEL ON DISCOURSE ANALYSIS IN THE CURRICULUM

Presented to:

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The Small Group Course as a Setting for Naturalistic Research

Charles Petrie and Charles Laufersweiler
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Introduction

This is a report of an attempt to combine undergraduate and graduate teaching in two different content areas: small group communication and qualitative research methods. The attempt stemmed from two sets of frustrations: those growing out of increased demands on our time and those resulting from our dissatisfaction with our individual and joint attempts to teach qualitative research methods to undergraduate and graduate students.

Any profession can be described in terms of rewards and frustrations. The teaching profession is no exception. In recent years our frustrations have sometimes overshadowed our pleasures. Conflicting demands have been placed on our time and we have been challenged to improve our teaching effectiveness and efficiency so as to meet the increasing demand for our undergraduate courses, while at the same time maintaining or increasing our research productivity. At our university these demands have been complicated by a decrease in faculty size, a perceived necessity to allow our course enrollments to increase far beyond what we have traditionally believed to be the optimum size, and the accompanying necessity to maintain the quality of our teaching under less than desireable teaching conditions. If we were to maintain our joy in teaching, we had to find some means for reconciling these conflicting demands.

In our case, we also were frustrated by our conviction that we were not succeeding in teaching our graduate and undergraduate students what we wanted

them to learn about qualitative research methods. We are convinced that adequate teaching of qualitative research methods requires intensive exposure to communication within a context. In the ordinary classroom situation we are unable to provide students with that intensive laboratory experience. Our students generally are torn between the demands placed on them by our course and other courses and find it difficult to devote enough time to participant observation, interviewing, discourse analysis, etc. Moreover, since our students do their observational work in a variety of contexts, it is often difficult to find unifying themes for class discussion of the work the student researchers are doing. To do our job properly, we need more of the students' time and a common setting within which they can do their observations.

We decided we might alleviate some of our frustrations by focusing our goals in both our graduate and undergraduate courses. In Spring 1984, Laufersweiler was scheduled to teach qualitative research methods at both the undergraduate and graduate levels. Petrie was scheduled to teach an experientially-based undergraduate course in small group communication and a graduate seminar in interpersonal communication. Since students in the small group course are required to participate in zero-history groups and also to form groups which work on a single project all semester, we thought the course would provide a fertile context within which students in the theory and research courses could engage in intensive observation of on-going communication in both contrived and natural settings. We were aware that since the groups in the class were studying small group behavior, at the same time as their own small group behavior was being observed, they did not constitute "normal" groups; but since the intention in the research classes was to study interpersonal communication, not small groups, we did not consider that a major problem. We now had a context for research.

To solve the time problem, we decided to team-teach the graduate courses with a focus on interpretive approaches to interpersonal communication and to require those wishing to enroll in one course to enroll also in the other. Since graduate students ordinarily enroll in three or four courses, we thus gained access to at least half of their course load and presumably to half of the time they would ordinarily devote to their academic studies. The small group course met for six hours a week on Tuesday and Thursday. We scheduled the undergraduate research course to overlap the first half of the small group course and the graduate research course to overlap the second half of the small group course. Students in both courses were thus able to observe some of the activities of the students in the small group class and course instruction in that class was scheduled to take place during those periods when the observers could not be present. The graduate seminar in interpersonal communication was scheduled to meet at another time, and would provide the opportunity to discuss with the students what they were observing in the small group class. It was hoped that, by using a research-team approach we would generate a body of information for future analysis and provide means for joint research and publication among the students and faculty, thus helping to meet the demands for increased publication.

The Small Group Course

We were not unaware of the potential side-effects in what we were proposing. In particular we knew that we had to be careful not to treat the people in the small group class as "mere subjects" for research, but this did not pose a serious problem. The course was taught as it had been taught in previous years. For several years undergraduate instructional assistants had sat in on group meetings and made audio and video recordings of the meetings for analysis

by the teacher and by the groups, and all members of the class were informed that these recordings might be used for research purposes. Informed consent forms are normally collected from all students in the course. This time, instead of using instructional assistants, the students from the research classes observed and recorded the groups, and groups were informed that they could opt not to have an observer in their group, if they wished.

Moreover, it was thought likely that the presence of the researchers might actually improve the learning opportunities in the course. Although most small group communication (or group discussion) courses are traditionally taught in sections of 20 or fewer students, this experientially based course has for several years enrolled 50 - 150 students in a section. To handle so many students, fundamental shifts in teaching strategies were required. It is assumed that students are capable of learning without continuous and direct supervision and instruction from the teacher and that participants in small problem-solving groups can learn to observe and criticize their own behaviors. In effect, in this course students are required to be both participants in and observers of the group process. It was hoped that the students, observing and being curious about the researchers, might become more observant of the behaviors of themselves and others.

The course has several distinctive characteristics. It meets for six hours a week and students earn 4 credits. It is structured around three types of activities: planned group problem-solving or decision-making exercises designed to provide structured decision-making experiences; other planned exercises designed to provoke various types of communication behaviors and/or to reveal participants' attitudes and beliefs about communicative behaviors in small group settings; and a semester-long group project. The exercises are done in randomly

constructed zero-history groups and vary in time from 30 minutes to two hours. Students participate in 13 different exercises (about 1 each week). Most formal teaching springs from the exercises. Following each exercise, the class meets as a whole to discuss the exercise and to drawn inferences about small group behavior from what they have experienced.

These discussions culminate in mini-lectures relating the experiences to the content of the two textbooks used in the course: B. Aubrey Fisher, Small Group Decision Making, and David W. Johnson and Frank P. Johnson, Joining Together. The textbooks express two different orientations to group problem solving. The Johnson and Johnson text is a typical group dynamics or social psychological approach, which emphasizes structural aspects of group behavior. Fisher designates his approach as a pragmatic or functional orientation which emphasizes the group or communication process. To this is added the instructor's interpretive orientation, with its emphasis on the process through which people come to share common understandings of the social world. The course seeks to increase student understanding of the communication process in the context of small decision-making groups. Although it is an experientially-based course, specific skills and techniques are not taught. It is assumed that effective performance in small groups decision making is dependent on understanding and being sensitive to the nature of interpersonal communication and the group process. The greater a person's understanding and sensitivity to communication and the group process, the more effective he/she will be as a participating group member.

In order to provide students with the opportunity to experience the development and growth of a decision-making group, they are required, in the opening weeks of the semester, to suggest topics for semester-long group projects

and to form into groups of their own choice to work on projects of their own choice. In Spring 1984, 10 groups, ranging in size from 5 to 10 persons were formed. About half of the class time was devoted to "permanent group" meetings. Class attendance was mandatory and the average student attended about 95% of the class meetings. The groups also met outside of class time. Thus each group spent from 45 to 100 hours together. The groups developed their own structure, their own group cultures. The instructor avoided direct interference in the group process so as to encourage the groups to develop autonomy from external influences. Each group chose its own project and developed its own procedures for accomplishing its goal. Although groups were free to consult with anyone about the group project, the instructor resisted providing specific advice about the project or about the communication process in any particular group.

Course requirements relevant to the group project were that members individually keep journals dealing with the group activity, the classroom activities, and other relevant communication events; that they report, as a group, on the group process and their project during the last week of classes; and that they prepare individual reports on the group process, including a forced ranking and rating of the contributions of each member to the overall welfare of the group, to the task, to group maintenance, and to group leadership. The instructor read the journals three times during the semester and used information from the journals, the group and individual reports, and my informal observations of the groups in determining both group and individual "participation" grades. There were mid-term and final examinations based on the textbooks, handouts, and lectures.

The Research Seminars

The two graduate courses were treated as one course which was structured around a mixture of activities, including discussion of assigned topics and readings, participant observation in the small group class, discourse analysis of selected portions of the observed interactions, and class discussions of those observations and analyses. We began with the assumption that people in everyday life appear to have taken-for-granted knowledge about the social world and about communication which enables them to engage in and make sense of communication and their social worlds in a seemingly effortless fashion. The major focus of the course was on understanding methods for answering the questions: what is this taken-for-granted knowledge, and, how is it used to make sense in everyday social communication? Our intention was to:

1. Help our students understand the assumptions underlying a "Weltanschauungen" philosophy of science, an interpretive view of humans and their actions, and a conception of the nature of language and meaning based on a model of emergent interaction.
2. Acquaint our students with various qualitative approaches to the study of communication (ethnomethodologies, rules theory, discourse and conversational analysis, participant observation, etc.).
3. Provide students with the opportunity to engage in participation observation and to analyze interpersonal communication in small groups, using various non-quantitative approaches.

We used four required textbooks:

Speier, M. How to Observe Face-To-Face Communication: A Sociological Introduction. Goodyear Publishing Co., Inc., 1973.

Lofland, J. & Lofland, L. H. Analyzing Social Settings. 2d ed. Wadsworth Publishing Co., 1984.

Shimanoff, S. B. Communication Rules: Theory and Research. Sage, 1980.

Craig, R.T. & Tracy, K. Conversatinal Coherence: Form, Structure and Strategy. Sage, 1983.

In addition, students read and discussed a host of articles and chapters from a variety of textbooks and journals to develop an understanding of the assumptions

underlying these research paradigms and to illustrate qualitative research.

Students were required to produce a research report and to take a final examination.

We particularly wanted our students to become familiar with methods of participant observation and conversation or discourse analysis and to combine both methods in their research. Both approaches treat the social reality of everyday life as problematic and the social actor's taken-for-granted knowledge as the topic for investigation. For our purposes, we treated participant observation as a means for learning how talk constructs and is used to account for what we take for granted as social reality; and described it as involving both observing and interviewing. We treated conversational or discourse analysis as the detailed analysis and formal description of the internal structure of conversation, with an emphasis on what utterances do in conversation and on the structural relationships between utterances. The requirement that both procedures be combined was based on the assumption that meanings of social behavior are "determined" by both the linguistic and practical-use contexts within which the behavior occurs.

By using the small group class as a research setting, we hoped to provide students with an opportunity for extensive exposure to the interactions of a group and to provide a relatively common set of observational experiences for analysis in the research seminars. The research assignment was open-ended. Students were instructed to prepare research reports about some aspect of the face-to-face interaction in the small group context which was "interesting" to them and which revealed something of significance about communication in the particular group which they had observed.

After a limited introduction to the nature of participant observation, we thrust the researchers into the small group setting and instructed them to align themselves with particular groups. Although none of observers had previous formal instruction in small group communication and the theoretical principles underlying the small group course were not explained to them, to maintain the instructional integrity of the small group course, we instructed them to refrain from "explaining" the course or the group process to the group members. We asked them to learn from the group members and not to serve as expert consultants to the groups. Beyond those restrictions the observers were able to develop whatever relationship with the group which seemed proper to them and which was allowed by the group members. The observers were present during the class periods in which the students were struggling to form groups and to decide upon their goals and they stayed with the groups until the groups disbanded at the end of the semester. Since they attended most in-class and out-of-class group meetings, most observers spent 100 hours or more with their groups.

Each observer made unstructured observations of the group activities and produced full field notes of those observations. After they had determined the behavior of interest to them, they were encouraged to make audio and video recordings for more detailed micro-analysis. They were also encouraged to develop "informants" within the groups and to use those informants to assist in the interpretation of what was going on in the groups. In addition, audio and video recordings of several of the permanent group meetings and several of the group exercises were made as part of normal classroom activity in the small group course. The field notes, transcriptions, and recordings were used as instructional materials in the research seminar.

As a result of the semester's activities, the following data-base was developed and used by the graduate students in writing their research reports:

1. Field notes of the activities in seven of the groups and of interviews with informants in those groups.
2. Video and audio-tapes of several meetings of the 10 groups and transcripts of those tapes.
3. Participants' journals (from those who would donate them).
4. The individual end-of-semester reports from each of the participants in the 10 groups.
5. The participants' rankings, ratings and written descriptions of the contributions of group members to the group.
6. Audio and video tapes and transcripts of zero-time groups working on assigned problem-solving tasks.

These materials have been organized and filed and are now available for further analysis.

Results

We would enjoy reporting that this experience was a complete success. It is more accurate to report that we had mixed results.

1. Our own observations and reports from our students suggest that the introduction of researchers into the small group classroom had no negative effects on that course. In fact, the students responded well to having observers. Those groups without observers expressed regret that they had not been observed and the students in groups with observers seemed to develop a deeper interest in understanding what was going on in their groups, in the

communication process, and in the research process itself.

2. Our gut-level observations and the results of the final examination in the research seminars suggested that the graduate students had gained greater knowledge (if not greater understanding) of qualitative research methods than had students in our earlier classes and that they had also developed an increased interest in research in general.

3. Our own inspection of the data collected during the semester revealed several interesting possibilities for future research and encouraged us to believe that the small group course had been a useful setting for qualitative research.

4. On the other hand, the research reports prepared by the students were not appreciably better than similar reports prepared by students in our earlier attempts to teach research methods. It is our guess that, although we increased the time which the students devoted to observation and discourse analysis and thus enabled them to become more proficient at both naturalistic observation and discourse analysis, we may not have provided them with sufficient instruction in the preparation of research reports or sufficient time to do an adequate analysis. For that reason we encouraged some of the students to accept Professor Sigman's offer to help them complete their analyses and write research reports. Professor Sigman will describe that process and the other speakers will report on the outcome of that process.

Discourse Analysis: Making One's Interpretations Explicit

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Paper presented to the Eastern Communication Association, Providence, Rhode Island, May 1985. A revised version of this paper, under the title "Some Common Mistakes Students Make When Learning Discourse Analysis," will appear in Communication Education.

Over the past few years, the field of communications has experienced a move toward a "naturalistic" and a "qualitative" research emphasis. Articles, chapters, and entire books are now devoted to ethnographic studies of interpersonal and mass communication (for example, Lull, 1980; Philipsen, 1976; Sigman, in press), to research on social behavior influenced by ethnomethodology and phenomenology (Beach, 1983; Hawes, 1977; Rawlins, 1983), and to structural analyses of everyday discourse (Craig and Tracy, 1983; Jacobs and Jackson, 1983; Nofsinger, 1977). Inevitably, our undergraduate and graduate curricula will come to reflect these trends in communications scholarship. Unfortunately, few resources exist, especially for undergraduate and other beginning-level students. While there are several valuable texts devoted to participant observation and ethnographic methodology (see Agar, 1980; McCall and Simmons, 1969; Spradley, 1980), there are few articles or books which develop a coherent methodological program for the beginning discourse analyst. Indeed, there are few resources available to the professional (cf. McLaughlin, 1984; Stubbs, 1983).

As a consequence of these problems and trends, I have been teaching for the last few years a series of analytic courses which are, in large measure, experientially based. Students are asked to read a sampling of the major research reports concerned with interaction and discourse analysis, to consider in class the methodological implications of these studies, and to begin preliminary data collections and analyses of their own.

Figure I reproduces some of the assignments which the students are given. These assignments are derived from two courses I teach: "Discourse Analysis" and "Methods for the Study of Communication Interactions." These courses combine my interest and background in linguistic and anthropological methods with the

currently popular concern for the organization of conversation. Drawing upon the rules and discourse literatures (Craig and Tracy, 1983; Cronen, Pearce and Harris, 1979; Shimanoff, 1980; Sigman, 1980), my teaching stresses four features of qualitative studies: the examination of units, relations, context, and social force (see below).

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Figure I about here

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Students are encouraged to begin their analyses, whenever possible, with unstructured field observations, and to make audio and/or video recordings after isolating suitable behavior and viable social situations for detailed micro-analysis (see McLaughlin, 1984 for a review of alternative methods). Currently, this procedure is not widely practiced by professional discourse scholars, although recent reports have argued for its utility (see Corsaro, 1982; Mathiot, 1983; Shimanoff, 1980; Stubbs, 1983). Initial field observations enable each student: (1) to gain the acquaintance and trust of the individuals whose interaction will subsequently be recorded; (2) to familiarize him/herself with the usual goings-on in the particular social event and physical location studied; and (3) to choose those camera angles, tape-recorder positionings, times of day, etc. which will contribute the most to the research. Ethnography and discourse analysis are combined in one additional manner: students are urged to maintain contact with their research subjects throughout the project, and to use them as informants. Specifically, as informants, the subjects can be asked: (1) to assist in the segmentation of discourse behavior into appropriate units of analysis (Mathiot, 1983; Planalp and Tracy, 1980); (2) to provide explanations and interpretations of their behavior; (3) to augment the number and type of cases recorded by the investigator; and (4) to validate, e.g., qualify or refute, the researcher's own interpretations.

Before moving to a discussion of some methodological errors commonly made by my beginning discourse analysts, and of the pedagogical implications of these errors, a brief note regarding the expected structure of the papers and how this relates to general course content may be useful. A more complete description of what rules research reports should contain can be found in work by Clarke (1977), Coulthard (1977), Pearce and Cronen (1979), and Shimanoff (1980). Briefly, I ask the students to be aware of the four features previously noted: (1) Units. How did the student generate the units for analysis? What unitization criteria (e.g., phenomenal, functional, causal) were used? Was the student able to adhere to the etic/emic difference? In addition to lecture and reading materials derived from structural linguistics and cognitive psychology (see the portion of Figure II concerned with "Unitization Considerations"), I engage the students in a classroom exercise concerned with the different ways researchers and subjects segment the continuous stream of communication behavor (see Figure III).

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Figure II about here

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(2) Relations. What relations obtain between and among the isolated units? Are two units sequentially related, do they co-occur, or are they free alternatives of each other? (See Figure II, "Analyzing the Relations of Behavior Units.")

(3) Context. Students are asked to consider context in two ways, as both the social situation in which a particular unit occurs and as the constellation (concatenation) of other units in the continuous stream of behavior of which the unit under analysis is a member. Lecture materials for this topic can be developed from the excellent work of Erickson and Schultz (1977), Hymes (1974), Mishler (1979), and Taylor (1975), who analyze the concept of

context-embeddedness and survey different typologies of context. Questions to be addressed in the student papers are as follows: What is the distribution of each behavior unit relative to the contexts that have been sampled? In what contexts does the behavior unit occur? In what contexts is that behavior absent? What is the differential distribution of units which appear to substitute for each other in selected contexts?

(4) Social force. Is the discourse pattern which the student has analyzed obligatory or optional? Is the performance of a given behavior in a specified context preferred, required, prohibited, or permitted? What are the consequences of participants' deviations? In the discussion below on the generation of contrast data, I will describe some of the pedagogical and methodological issues related to social force. (For reading assignments, see Figure II, "Ethnography: Studying Context and Social Force.")

As can be seen from the references to the syllabus, the first few lecture units reflect the analytic elements to be included in the student papers. After an introductory lecture in which the goals of discourse analysis are described, the students are taken through several weeks of general discussion concerning units of analysis, unit relations, context-embeddedness and social force. With this as a background, we then read and discuss specific conversational studies, emphasizing the different approaches that can be taken to the above four features (for example, see Figure II, "Multiple Approaches to Turn-Taking Research").

The discourse analysis assignments themselves offer students an opportunity to "get their hands dirty," to experience both the frustrations and rewards of looking systematically at communication behavior. In addition to this, the assignments enable the students to confront some fundamental communication theory issues, including the differences between an intentionalist and a functionalist approach to behavior (see Scheflen, 1973), reconciling actors' and

observers' descriptions of events, accounting for the partial contribution that each participant's behavior makes to sustaining a given interaction event, and the like.

Faculty members who intend to include discourse analyses as components of existing courses, or as novel foci for newer ones, will need to recognize the numerous problems the beginning student (either graduate or undergraduate) labors under. Since there are few introductory sources which articulate a clear methodological stance, a certain amount of trial and error can be expected (even with the above-mentioned lectures and reading assignments). Most students' prior exposure to research methodology occurs in statistically- and/or experimentally-based courses. The logic of proof for these approaches and for discourse analysis is different. Although lectures and reading lists can certainly acquaint students with issues relevant to qualitative methodology, it is not until students are asked to work with actual data that the differences surface <u>for them,</u> and can be meaningfully discussed with them.

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Figure III about here

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In the remainder of this paper, I will highlight recurrent errors my discourse analysis students have made. It is hoped that this discussion will shed some light on salient features of discourse analysis, and on fundamental methodological issues beginning students face. I will briefly outline four errors.

First, the students' reports can be observed confusing the goals of quantitative and qualitative research. More specifically, the students appear on occasion to have used a quantificational vocabulary to describe qualitative distinctions and patterns. For example, the following sentence from one paper

> One strategy that speakers frequently use to establish their credibility is to refer to some past experience in their lives. . . .

was changed by me to read

> One strategy that speakers seem to employ to establish. . . .

This student had not begun his study by collecting a random sample of discourse materials, so the reference to the "frequent" use of the particular strategy under description was statistically meaningless. Moreover, the student did not actually count instances of the analytic unit, and did not compare this tabulation with a count for other units. The question of what percentage of the total corpus evidenced the particular discourse strategy was not addressed in the paper, nor was this the goal. Thus, the student did not consider the question: How frequent must something be for it to count as "frequent"?

Although the student in the above example may have "eye-balled" the transcripts, and may even have believed that the discourse phenomenon under consideration had the highest distribution, there is still a problem with the confusion of quantitative and qualitative vocabularies. The student researcher may have had the impression (and may also have desired to communicate the impression) that the particular behavior unit investigated was important and significant because of its apparently high numerical count. This is a questionable position for many qualitative and linguistically-oriented researchers who argue that a unit may be structurally important, that is, play a decisive role in organizing discourse, even though its frequency distribution is relatively low (see especially Brown and Levinson, 1979; Hymes, 1973).

At the initial stages of a discourse analysis project, the investigator is generally concerned with establishing units of behavior, that is, establishing qualitative differences and categories of behavior. Random sampling and frequency distributions are largely relevant only after the unitization and structural descriptions have taken place. Reliance on such terms as "frequently," "often," "many times," and the like do not usually aid in the

generation of qualitatively-based categories (see the example provided by Goodwin, 1981, pp. 77-94).

I must hasten to add that I do not intend to draw for my students an inflexible characterization of the relationship between quantitative and qualitative research. Nevertheless, I do believe that statements concerning the frequency of observed behavior must rely on sources of, and standards for, data not usually includrd in the early phases of most qualitative studies.

A second terminological confusion I have noted in the student papers concerns the mixing of vocabulary (and associated theory) derived from social psychology with that from discourse analysis. As I see it, the goal of disourse research is to provide a description and analysis of the basic building blocks of face-to-face interaction (e.g., speech acts, turn-taking cues, cohesion devices), and of the contextual placement and hierarchical and sequential organization of these basic units. This goal is seen by discourse and interaction analysts to be prior to the study of individual differences in the utilization of selected behavior units, as well as of the social psychological dimensions associated with participants' particular behavioral preferences and avoidances (Duncan, 1969, 1983). In the first lecture unit (see Figure II), for example, I suggest to my students that the course goal is to generate descriptions of the socially allowable behaviors and combinations of behaviors which organize discourse. Correlating specific behaviors with personality variables, communicator styles, etc. is a separate and later research endeavor.

If this confusion is likely to surface at all in the students' minds, my experience leads me to suggest that it influences the choice of topic for one of the several papers I assign. The following are excerpts from one student's third assignment:

> The following is a distributional analysis of conversational dominance in a goal oriented conversation.
>
> The following chart will display some of the etic considerations

> from the former three conversations. The chart, and the analysis that follows, is (sic) not concerned with quality as much as it is with the quantity of word usage. This quantity, compiled with some assumptions, will lead me to general conclusions in relation to conversation dominance during this particular event.

One consistent reason offered by my students for including some social psychological variable in their discoure analyses is their "gut" feeling that the discourse descriptions in themselves "do not seem enough" (their words). It appears as though the beginning researchers are not comfortable with the idea that "doing conversation is an activity which should itself be a topic for research" (Nofsinger, 1977, p. 12). I am fairly confident in suggesting that this owes in no small measure to the substantive emphases our undergraduate and graduate students typically experience: our textbooks, journals, and conference panels are largely focused on particular interpersonal variables (e.g., communication apprehension, self disclosure), and have only recently begun to take seriously the analysis of behavior organization per se. Therefore, it is necessary for those faculty members about to embark on a discourse analysis sequence or course to provide at least one formal unit on the different goals and methods of "structural" and "external variable" research (see Duncan, 1969).

Even after students have become acquainted with the relative positions of quantitative and qualitative analyses, and of variable analytic and structural research, additional pedagogical problems remain. The third item I wish to discuss concerns the social force component of rules statements. A variety of rules researchers have argued that the rules which guide communication interactions may place differing constraints on social actors (Cushman & Pearce, 1977; Shimanoff, 1980). The application of a rule (given its specification of units, relations, and context) may be required or merely preferred; it may be absolutely forbidden, or optional and so tolerated; and so on. Observational data by themselves do not necessarily provide clues as to the type of prescription underlying the performance of the behavior contained in the data

corpus. For example, behavioral data which indicate that a certain unit A is seen to occur repeatedly under context condition X cannot automatically be used to suggest the degree of force accounting for the appearance of that behavior; the behavioral data may initially indicate that unit A does appear in context X, but we do not know if this appearance is rule-abiding or rule-breaking, and in what way this is so. Indeed, subsequent data analyses could reveal that unit A is but one of several units found in context X, and that the units freely alternate with each other; or unit A might elicit sanctioning behavior on the part of the recipient, or it might do so under condition X but not conditions Y and Z.

The following excerpt from a student's report indicated to me that the student had not considered the kinds of data concerned with social force which might be needed for his analysis:

> Much like the telling of a story, the introduction of experience-related ethos has sequential consequences for conversation. The speaker must manage the experience topically. That is he must introduce and relate the experience to the topic being disussed. And the speaker must also turn the conversation back over to the other participants. . . .
>
> First, the speaker must make his experience relevant. Jefferson writes, "Techniques are used to display a relationship between the story and prior talk and thus account for, and propose the appropriateness of, the story's telling" (1978, p. 220).

In correcting this paper, I circled each and every instance of the word "must," and in the second paragraph in the above citation I indicated that the student's use of the word "must" was not equivalent to Jefferson's phrase "are used."

Another example of an inadequate analysis of the social force behind a proposed rule can be found in the following:

> Such behavior is not typically associated with peope who are unable to get along with their peers.

The writer failed to indicate how he knew what behavior was "typical" in the classroom observed. Was this determination made on the basis of a frequency

count for several behaviors? Was this behavior typical in the sense that it was required of all participants? Can the statement regarding typicality be attributed to an informant whose perspective on the interaction scene was elicited during an interview session?

As part of their discourse assignments, the student researchers are urged to seek out contrast and/or informant data to help decide the prescriptive force of each rule they propose. By contrast data I am referring to supplementary observations which enable the researcher to build a case for whatever interpretation and phrasing of the rule that is intended. If a rule is stated as "speakers must introduce behavior unit A," then there should be no instances of behavior B being introduced instead of behavior A, for if this situation does obtain, then a rule specifying the alternation relationship of A and B is needed. However, if behavior A and behavior B elicit different recipient reactions, and, moreover, the responses produced by A are "positive" (however operationalized) and by B "negative," then the initially proposed rule ("speakers must introduce behavior unit A") may be appropriate. This is because the performance of behavior unit A is judged acceptable, while that of behavior unit B is not. Finally, the students are encouraged to search for examples of A's absence in situations of expected appearance, and for the reactions that follow from these absences, in order to assess whether or not the behavior must occur.

Students should also be taught the integration of discourse participants' verbalizable perspectives and conversational data. As noted above, studies can make use of informants to judge the wording of proposed discourse rules, and to provide examples and counter-examples evidencing the degree of requisiteness felt while performing the specified behavior or sequence. It is beyond the scope of this paper to consider the problems assocated with the training and questioning of informants (see Adair and Spinner, 1981; Agar, 1980).

Nevertheless, what is important to stress here is that students must learn to confront the multiples of data (both observational and interview) which are needed to derive rules statements.

A fourth analytic temptation I have observed concerns the student researchers' apparent desire to inflate the importance of the behavioral data they have garnered (i.e., the transcripts) at the expense of background contextual information. An example may help clarify what I mean by this. One student paper began:

> This conversation took place at my apartment. The participants were my roommate and two friends. All of the participants are graduate students in the Speech Communication Department. They were all just sitting around, eating peanuts, engaging in casual (very casual) conversation about the department and their degrees.
>
> The conversation begins with JA asking a question. This accomplishes two things: (1) it designates the original subject area; and (2) it opens the floor for conversation.

This writer assumed that whatever was accomplished during the interaction event under study occurred during the period of "focused" co-presence (Goffman, 1963) captured by the tape recorder. While I have no empirically grounded reasons for refuting this analysis, neither do I feel that sufficient contrast data were presented to rule out other interpretations. For example, the subject area for discourse attention could have been agreed upon (perhaps even implicitly) prior to the actual meeting, or, at least, prior to the first words captured by the recorder (which were apparently not the first words of the total interaction). The definition of this transaction as a "casual (very casual) conversation" seems to have led the investigator away from situational and relational sources for the discussion topic.

An alternate way for me to phrase this last observation is to suggest that students of discourse need to work toward some healthy balance between interaction and ethnographic data, that is, between data derived from the

"technology" of discourse (Hopper, 1983) and those developed from consideration of the interpersonal occasions in which behavior is situated (cf. Corsaro, 1982; Grimshaw, 1982). As noted above, contextual data derived from ethnographic observations and interviews should be used as precursors and adjuncts to the micro-analyzable data stored on audio and/or visual media.

To summarize, the four problem areas discussed in this paper represent methodological skills and decisions with which student (and professional) discourse analysts must concern themselves. Considered individually, each problem area points up the need for researchers and educators to assess the place of qualitative study in the overall arsenal of communications methods. Moreover, each problem area suggests a set of differences between discourse analysis and more typical foci for communications investigations (e.g., the relationship of structural research to variable analytic research) which can easily be included as lecture units in communication theory and methodology courses.

Figure 1

Class Assignments

Select any "folk" rule you know, i.e., a prescription about discourse behavior which is held by cultural members with whom you are familiar. Do some preliminary observational and interview work in order to pin down: (1) exactly what this rule means to members of the cultural group, or, at least, what they are able to say it means; (2) contextual constraints on the application of this rule; and (3) examples of nonadherances to and breaches of the rule, and of associated (sanctioning) responses. In all, about eight well-written pages will suffice.

Choose a social situation or physical location where you will be able to observe interaction repeatedly over a nine-week period. After two weeks of observation "in the field," select a particular interaction- or discourse-related problem for analysis. Collect interview and observational data. Your final report should consist of a rules analysis of behavior in the particular context you chose. What are the behavioral requirements of the situation? What program(s) and alternatives exist? What is the "meaning" of this behavior, and of the associated rules, for your subjects? In addition to our weekly meetings, during which we will discuss your research question and methodology, I will occasionally ask you to supply written progress reports, interview transcripts, observation sheets, etc. A final analytic paper is due at the end of the semester.

Collect ten minutes of a naturally occurring conversation in which you are not a participant. Produce a transcript from your audio tape according to this format: Divide your paper down the middle. First, provide a verbatim transcript using the Jefferson notation system on the left side of your paper. Be as detailed in indicating "micro-behaviors" as you can. Second, produce a parallel "common language" transcript. That is, begin to isolate conceptual or interpretive units and outline tentative relations between units. Indicate what the conversationalists are "doing" with their talk, what strategies and/or goals they seem to be accomplishing. Third, analyze what it is in the text which leads you to the unitization and interpretation you have made. Establish consistent criteria for classifying the behavior. Look for contrast data in the transcripts in order to bolster your analysis. Account for all patterns of unit sequentiality, co-occurrence, alternation, presence and/or absence, etc.

Figure II

Brief Syllabus

Course: Methods for the Study of Communication Interactions

Unit 1. Introductory Perspectives

Butterworth, B. (1978). Maxims for studying conversations. Semiotica, 24, 317-339.

Nofsinger, R.E. (1977). A peek at conversational analysis. Communication Quarterly, 25, 12-20.

Pearce, W.B. (1977). Naturalistic study of communication: Its function and form. Communication Quarterly, 25, 51-56.

Unit 2. Unitization Considerations

Brannigan, C.R. & Humphries, D.A. (1972). Human non-verbal behaviour, a means of communication. In N. Blurton Jones (Ed.), Ethological studies of child behaviour (pp. 37-64). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Condon, W.S. & Ogston, W. (1967). A segmentation of behavior. Journal of Psychiatric Research, 5, 221-235.

Dougherty, E. (1978). Segmenting the behavior stream: Verbal reports as data. Semiotica, 24, 221-243.

Pike, K. (1967). Language in relation to a unified theory of the structure of human behavior. The Hague: Mouton.

Unit 3. Unitization Continued: Transcription and Notation

Ochs, E. (1979). Transcription as theory. In E. Ochs and B. Schieffelin (Eds.), Developmental pragmatics (pp. 251-268). New York:Academic Press.

Unit 4. Analyzing the Relations of Behavior Units

Ervin-Tripp, S. (1972). On sociolinguistic rules: Alternation and co-occurrence. In J.G. Gumperz and D. Hymes (Eds.), Directions in sociolinguistics (pp.213-250). New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Slater, P.J.B. (1973). Describing sequences of behavior. In P.P.G. Bateson & P.H. Klopfer (Eds.), Perspectives in ethology: Volume I (pp. 131-153). New York: Plenum.

Unit 5. Ethnography: Studying Context and Social Force

Bilmes, J. (1975). Misinformation in verbal accounts: Some fundamental considerations. Man, 10, 60-71.

Birdwhistell, R.L. (1979). Some discussion of ethnography, theory and method. In J. Brockman (Ed.), About Bateson (pp. 101-141). New York: Dutton.

Unit 6. Multiple Approaches to Turn-Taking Research

Duncan, S., Jr. (1972). Some signals and rules for taking speaking turns in conversations. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 23, 283-292.

Nofsinger, R.E. (1975). The demand ticket: A conversational device for getting the floor. Speech Monographs, 42, 1-9.

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Figure III

The Cup and Saucer Exercise

Rationale: I find that students generally don't think about the role they play in the analysis process, especially with regard to the implicit assumptions they have concerning the segmentation of behavior. This exercise is intended to demonstrate that analytic units are not nature-given, that criteria must be explicitly created and stated by the researcher. I find that this is a good way to introduce the notion of unitization prior to doing formal discourse analysis.

Procedure: Place a cup and saucer on the desk in front of the classroom. Ask the students: "How many units/pieces/chunks of communication does this thing represent? What criteria/standards are you using for deciding this?" As students wrestle with these questions, bring up examples of other types of behavior and artifacts (e.g., your gestures and pacing while speaking, a pair of earrings being worn by one of the students).

Themes: In the course of the discussion, the instructor should broach the following themes at appropriate moments: (1) communication behavior, which is continuous, may be segmented according to physical and/or functional criteria; (2) the number and type of units may differ across the various criteria -- e.g., a cup and saucer may represent only one functional unit, but two (or more) physical units; (3) different social groups use the various criteria differently, so that two units which are physically the same may constitute functionally dissimilar units for individuals with different cultural backgrounds -- e.g., a male chemist and a hostess segment the cup and saucer differently, just as native English and Japanese speakers unitize the sound stream differently; (4) an event is composed of constituents or subunits, which in turn are composed of still "smaller" units -- e.g., a cup and saucer combine with other dishes to constitute a place setting, phonemes combine according to rules to constitute morphemes.

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NONVERBAL CORRELATES OF WITHIN-TURN SPEAKER REPETITIONS

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INTRODUCTION

The process of speaking is frequently, if not always, accompanied by bodily movements other than those directly involving the vocal apparatus in speech production. Systematic investigation of such body movements (for example, see Kendon, 1980, 1983; Goodwin, 1981) has led to conclusions that such movements are not unrelated to the speech process; nor are they mere products of, or embellishments on, this process. Rather, such movements have been found to be significantly related to the semantic aspects of communication.

For example, Kendon (1980) found that meanings, in addition to those inherent within the verbal portion of an utterance, are expressed by various hand/arm gestures. These meanings seem to be clearly understood by both speakers and listeners, and involve behavior functions beyond those related to the mechanics of turn-taking and other coordination systems during conversation.

Such observations have led to reconceptualizing the act of speaking as a multichannel process. As such, it involves not only the vocal apparatus, but movement of the entire body. Speaking is not viewed as a disjunct system independent of other co-occurring (or simultaneous) bodily movement, but as a process involving the entire neuromuscular apparatus available to interactants. In brief, speaking has been conceptualized as a process involving the interrelationship of verbal and nonverbal behavioral channels.

Kendon's (1980) work on face-to-face interaction focused upon hand/arm gestures accompanying verbal behavior. He studied all hand/arm movements occurring simultaneous to or within the temporal structure of a verbal utterance, and called such movements "gesticulation units" or "G-units." The criterion he used in demarcating G-units was the time from which a limb was moved from a rest position, to

the time when that limb was again returned to rest (Kendon, 1980, p. 212).

Kendon based his analysis on data from extended utterances of individual speakers. Among his many findings, he noted that within-turn speaker pauses are frequently characterized by the speaker's continuation to completion of hand/arm gestures engaged in immediately prior to the onset of the pause (Kendon, 1980, p.219). Thus, he concluded that interruptions within the verbal channel are not necessarily accompanied by simultaneous interruptions in the nonverbal channel for any particular utterance.

The purpose of this investigation is to build on Kendon's observations by assessing nonverbal behavior occurring exclusively during within-turn speaker dysfluencies - specifically, repetitions. Repetitions were arbitrarily selected as the unit of analysis in order to limit this study to a manageable size. For purposes of this investigation, repetitions were defined as cases where a speaker utters an exact word or sequence of words two or more times, these repeated words occurring as a sequence not interspersed with other, different verbal utterances. Nonverbal behavior in this study will be considered as movements from a position of rest involving eight different limbs, including the head, torso, right and left shoulders, arms and hands. My goal in this paper is to outline a set of categories for capturing the temporal relationships between and among within-turn repetitions and speaker kinesic behavior.

DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS

The data for this investigation were obtained from undergraduate students at the State University of New York at Buffalo enrolled in a Small Group Communication class. Students were divided into groups of between five to ten group members. Each group met regularly during the semester, and was expected to complete a semester-long as well as several one-session tasks. Videotapes were made of at least one session for each group.

The original videotape of the group used in this investigation was duplicated and "frame" numbers were burned into the tape (ten frames for every second of tape). Verbal and nonverbal transcripts were prepared for sixteen within-turn speaker repetitions found on this one hour-long videotape, which served as the primary data for this investigation. By indexing frame numbers, the temporal structure of specific nonverbal behaviors corresponding to each within-turn speaker repetition was found, thus allowing correspondences to be drawn between these verbal and nonverbal behaviors. Both verbal and nonverbal transcripts of the sixteen within-turn speaker repetitions used in this study can be found in the appendix.

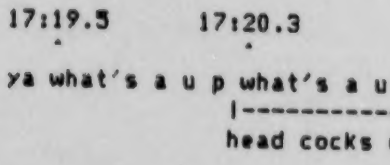
RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN VERBAL AND NONVERBAL BEHAVIORS

Although generalizations from the data analyzed in this investigation are somewhat preliminary, analysis of the sixteen within-turn speaker repetitions yielded several observations that seemed noteworthy. To begin, of the sixteen repetitions studied, only one was not accompanied by any observable body movements (see appendix, repeat # 7). All others were accompanied by some form of body movement. Rather than attempt a quantitative analysis of these limited data, I will instead focus on developing relevant qualitative distinctions. (Therefore, the frequency counts given below are for descriptive purposes only; a random sampling technique and a larger sample would be required for any statistical testing.)

First, it was observed that some of the body movements occurring during within-turn speaker repetitions were movements initiated simultaneously with the repeat, rather than carried into it or continued from the utterance immediately preceding the repeat. Of the sixteen repetitions analyzed, eleven involved initiation of some form of body movement within the temporal structure of within-turn speaker repetitions. These include repeat #'s 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, and 16, all of which can be found in the appendix. Interestingly, even in those cases in which body

movements were continued from before the onset of the repeat (see appendix, repeat #'s 3, 9, 15, and 16), additional body movements were found to be initiated during the temporal structure of the repeats. Several examples will be discussed in order to illustrate these points.

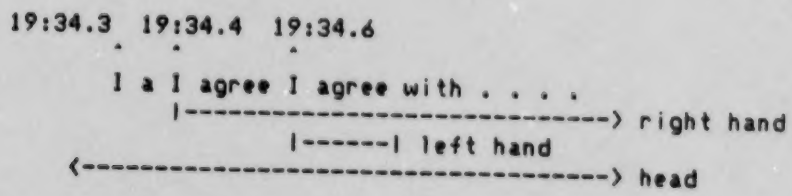
EXAMPLE # 1, REPEAT # 6



In this example, the speaker cocks her head up and appears to direct her gaze outward towards other group members.

It should be pointed out that no specific body part or body movement appears at this time to be associated with within-turn repeats. Rather, it is the initiation of movement per se, simultaneous to the repetition onset, which is evident. This will be discussed below.

EXAMPLE # 2, REPEAT # 9



In this example, the speaker makes an up-and-down head motion that continues from the verbal utterance immediately preceding the repeat, continues through the repeat, and is extended beyond it. In addition, his right hand moves such that the palm is turned up with fingers extended straight-out during the first "I agree." He then begins an up-and-down motion with this hand, that is carried beyond the temporal

structure of the repeat. During the second "I agree," the speaker opens his left hand, fingers extended straight-out and palm facing inward towards his body, and slightly moves this hand up-and-down once. This hand is then returned to a rest position upon termination of the second "I agree."

This example clearly illustrates that nonverbal behavior carried into the within-turn repetition from a preceding utterance can be "supplemented" by other body movements initiated during or simultaneous with the temporal structure of the repeat.

Third, nonverbal behaviors were observed being initiated during the temporal structure of the repeat; specifically, just prior to the point in time when the speaker utters the target word or phrase for the second time. Of the sixteen repetitions analyzed, nine involved initiation of some form of body movement just prior to the second utterance of the repeated word or phrase (see appendix, repeat #'s 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 8, 9, 12, and 13). The following example illustrates this point.

EXAMPLE # 3, REPEAT # 4

```
09:03.6          09:04.2
                 ^
but I (pause) I had him as . . . .
                  |----|   right and left hand
                  |----|   left arm
                  |----|   left shoulder
                  |----|   head
```

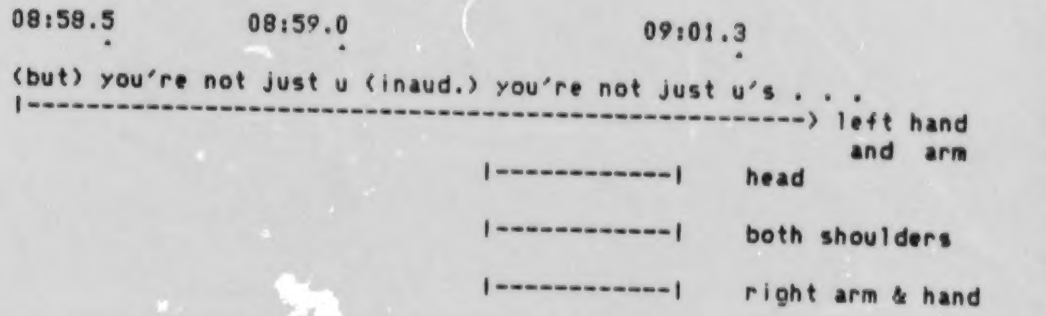
In this example, the speaker, just prior to uttering the second "I," performs multiple and simultaneous body movements. He extends both hands out from his body, bending his wrists upwards with fingers extended straight-out, and begins an up-and-down motion with both hands. His left arm and shoulder are cocked up with one short, stark movement, and his head begins a back-and-forth swaying motion as he gazes at the speaker to which his utterance is directed.

With regards to specific body movements, it was observed that head movements occurred within the temporal structure of the repeat (either being initiated within the temporal structure of the repeat or carried into it from an immediately preceding utterance) for all repetitions analyzed with the exception of two. Diagram # 1 summarizes the various limb movements observed to occur during each of the sixteen repetitions used as data for this study.

(insert diagram here)

Further analysis reveals that, of the fourteen repetitions studied that included head movements within their temporal structure, twelve involved head movements initiated during or simultaneous to the temporal structure of the repeat, and were not carried into it from an immediately prior utterance (see appendix, repeat #'s 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, and 16). Repeat #'s 3 and 15 involve head movements carried into the temporal structure of te repeat. Repeat # 3 will be discussed to illustrate this point.

EXAMPLE # 4, Repeat # 3



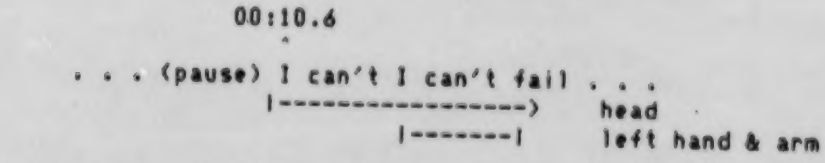
In this example, at the start of the repetition, the speaker raises her left hand and arm up and to her left. Her hand then moves up to her face, fingers extended as if motioning the group to halt. She then lowers her arm with the left wrist resting

on the table, but continues to move her left hand in a back-and-forth motion.

Within the temporal structure of the repeat, the speaker looks up at the group just prior to the first "not," cocking her head so that it rests at a forty-five degree angle relative to te plane of the table. Immediately preceding the second "you're," she initiates a set of simultaneous movements. Her right hand and arm move up to her face with fingers extended, and she then lowers them, turning the palm of the right hand up and extending it out towards the group. Her wrist rests on the table, whereupon she begins an up-and-down motion with the right hand while the left hand is simultaneously making the back-and-forth movement discussed above. Both shoulders and torso are pushed away from the table, and she cocks her head backwards, changing its previous forward leaning position.

Finally, in all of the nonverbal behaviors observed that occurred within the temporal structure of within-turn speaker repetitions, none of the head movements occurred after the initiation of other body movement. Specifically, head movements were observed to precede or co-occur with movements involving other limbs. Example 5 illustrates this point.

EXAMPLE 5, REPEAT # 2



The speaker first sharply cocks her head to the right, and then begins a circular head motion as she begins to stroke her hair by sharply raising her left hand and arm.

An example of the data analyzed that involves simultaneous movement of the head with other body parts is discussed in example # 6.

EXAMPLE # 6, REPEAT # 14

```
                    33:29.1  33:29.5  33:29.9
                       ^        ^        ^
. . . and me (pause) you you Jackie
                      |-----|    right hand & arm
                      |-----|    both shoulders
                      |-----|    head
                      |-----|    torso
```

As the speaker utters "you you" her right arm is raised upwards, while the right hand is waved in an up-and-down motion. Her shoulders and torso are moved back from the table and away from the other group members. Then she begins a back-and-forth motion with her torso. She also cocks her head back-and-forth as she gazes at the listener she is addressing.

In sum, various relationships were observed between verbal and nonverbal behavior from the data in this study. First, nonverbal behavior was found within the temporal structure of within-turn speaker repetitions. Second, some behaviors were noted to begin during the temporal structure of the repetition, and were not carried into it from immediately prior utterances. Even where body movements were found to be carried into the temporal structure of the repetition from immediately prior utterances, the speaker initiated additional body movements simultaneous to or during the temporal structure of the repeat. The exact temporal position where many nonverbal behaviors were found to be initiated was just prior to the beginning of the second repeat of the target word or phrase. Finally, head movements were observed as occurring in most of the within-turn speaker repetitions analyzed, and were found to occur simultaneous to or preceding nonverbal behaviors involving other limbs. They never were observed to be initiated after the start of nonverbal behavior involving these other body parts.

DISCUSSION

This investigation has provided a descriptive analysis of nonverbal behavior related to the temporal structure of within-turn speaker repetitions. The observation that many body movements are initiated by speakers during the temporal structure of the repeat rather then being carried into it from immediately prior utterances builds upon Kendon's (1980) findings in an important way. Kendon observed that hand/arm gestures initiated prior to speaker pauses are carried to completion without interruption, even though there is an interruption or break in the verbal portion of the utterance. This study found the same, but in addition, also found that speakers initiated other nonverbal behaviors during the temporal structure of the repeat. Further, it was observed that additional movements occurred either prior to or immediately after the the body movements carried into the repeat from an immediately prior utterance were brought to completion during the temporal structure of the repeat.

References to speaker gaze during the analysis were intended as casual observations rather than precise data. However, Goodwin's (1981) findings that gaze can be inferred by observing speaker/listener head movements is particularly relevant to this study since head movements were found to accompany all but two of the repetitions analyzed. Future research of within-turn speaker repetitions in relation to nonverbal behavior might be conducted which expands upon this analysis by studying the interactive verbal and nonverbal behaviors; that is, of both speakers and listeners. Further, within-turn speaker repetitions might more fruitfully be studied by considering the entire discourse in which they are embedded. By studying the interrelationships of verbal and nonverbal behaviors of coparticipants within a specific context, the meaning rather than just the physical description of nonverbal behaviors might become more apparent.

It should be reiterated that the present paper has attempted to outline a

descriptive taxonomy which can be employed in future contextualized discourse research. Specifically, I am currently examining the following functional relationships: 1. nonverbal behaviors that frame or bracket repetitions and mark the repetition as dysfluent; 2. nonverbal behaviors that frame or bracket larger discourse units, and mark the continuity of the turn's content despite the dysfluency; 3. nonverbal behaviors as turn-continuation signals in relation to turn-requesting cues by the listener(s); and 4. the use of specific nonverbal behaviors and repetitions as used to keep the attention of listeners.

DIAGRAM 1

REPEAT #	HEAD	RIGHT HAND	LEFT HAND	RIGHT ARM	LEFT ARM	RIGHT SHOULDER	LEFT SHOULDER	TORSO
1	X					X		
2	X		X		X			
3	X	X	X	X	X			X
4	X	X	X		X		X	
5	X	X	X				X	
6	X							
7								
8		X		X				
9	X	X	X					
10	X	X	X	X	X			X
11	X	X	X	X	X			X
12	X	X		X				
13	X	X		X				X
14	X		X		X			X
15	X		X					X
16	X		X		X			

LIMB MOVEMENTS OBSERVED WITHIN THE TEMPORAL STRUCTURE OF
16 WITHIN-TURN SPEAKER REPETITIONS USED AS DATA IN THIS STUDY

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APPENDIX

VERBAL TRANSCRIPT IN WHICH REPEAT #'S 1 & 2 ARE EMBEDDED

Robin: I said my group was more of a priority (pause)
group: (various simultaneous comments made by various group members)
Robin: he said more than antik what are you crazy he goes Robin I'm not gonna make I'm not gonna make these reservations for eight days when you're only gonna be there for three and a half (pause) I said well what can I tell ya (pause) I can't I can't fail a class (inaudible) all this time so (inaud.)=
Elaine: = that's good though
Robin: [anyway I don't care

NONVERBAL TRANSCRIPTS OF REPEAT #'S 1 & 2

REPEAT # 1

00:04.3 00:04.6

. . . I'm not gonna make I'm not gonna make...
|-------| cocks head slightly to right
|----| right shoulder cocks up

REPEAT # 2

00:10.6 00:11.3

I can't I can't

head cocks sharply to right |-----| |------| left hand and arm are raised sharply back to stroke hair
|------| forward, circular head motion

VERBAL TRANSCRIPT IN WHICH REPEAT #'S 3 & 4 ARE EMBEDDED

Rick: (reading orally from a document he is holding)
[ ]
Robin: (talks-over Rick's reading with an inaudible comment)
[
Elaine: you're not just u (inaud.) (pause) you're not just u's you're u's and p's that's why we had him (inaud.)
[
Brian: no (pause) ok but I (pause) I had him as a giant u that's what I wanted to tell (pause) I had him for 14 for u (pause) I agree with some of this stuff
[
Robin: what do you have him as u p (points to Friz)
[ ]
Rick: (inaud.)

NONVERBAL TRANSCRIPTS OF REPEAT #'S 3 & 4

REPEAT # 3

08:58.5 08:59.0 09:01.3

. . . you're not just u (inaud.) you're not just u's . . .
<--->
left hand and arm move up and to the left, hand extended up to face with fingers extended straight-out; the hand moves back down to table and the left wrist is rested upon it; the left hand makes a back-and-forth motion

|-------| |-----------|
head cocks- head cocked back
up to 45 de-
gree angle

|-----------|
torso and shoulders move back
|-----------|
right hand and arm move up with fingers extended straight-out; right hand and arm are lowered with right palm up, and right hand is extended out to group; as right wrist rests on table, right hand makes an up-and-down motion

REPEAT # 4

09:03.6 09:04.2

. . . I (pause) I . . .

|-----| head cocks back-and-forth towards Elaine in a waving motion

|-----| left shoulder is cocked forward with one short, stark movement

|-----| left arm is cocked up with a short, stark movement

|-----| both hands and wrists are facing upwards; then hands are extended outward with fingers extended straight-out; both hands begin making an up-and-down motion

VERBAL TRANSCRIPT IN WHICH REPEAT # 5 IS EMBEDDED

Robin: what do you want from me? =

Elaine: = wait (inaud.)

Brian: [(inaud.) wa wait <u>give your give your</u> express your opinion let Rick express (pause) what he feels (inaud.)

Friz: [(inaud.)

NONVERBAL TRANSCRIPT OF REPEAT # 5

11:25.1

. . . give your give your . . .

|-------| left shoulder cocked slightly down

|----------) head cocks to right as looks at Rick; then cocks head back and forth

VERBAL TRANSCRIPT OF REPEAT # 6

Robin: who said (pause) Brian said he's a u p f?
Elaine: ya what's a u p what's a u p f now why don't we read that
Brian: I said what rick was?
Elaine: ya
[
Brian ya

NONVERBAL TRANSCRIPT OF REPEAT # 6

17:19.5 17:20.3

. . . what's a u p what's a u p . . .
I-----I head cocks slightly up and eye gaze is directed outward towards group

VERBAL TRANSCRIPT IN WHICH REPEAT #'S 7, 8, AND 9 ARE EMBEDDED

Brian: thats I said eh that with a high u we all agree but I see her more (pause) than high u
[
Elaine: more what?
[
Robin: well Brian has that high u in there but he also seems to see Rick as (pause) as ascendent and friendly (pause) which is goes with the u (pause) but he does take initiative in leading the group as a whole (pause) and it's eh:: so in other words his u this u says he doesn't lead the group as in in value testing is compensated a little with the p f too =
Brian: = ya (pause) so that means you gotta see the way I look at him I a I agree I agree with what I said (pause) I mean that fits perfect for you what I think (inaud.)
[
Robin: well this (inaud.)

NONVERBAL TRANSCRIPTS OF REPEAT #'S 7, 8, & 9

REPEAT # 7

19:18.4
^

. . . as (pause) as . . .

(no nonverbal behaviors observed)

REPEAT # 8

19:28.7 19:29.6
^ ^

. . . in in . . .

|---| right arm moves up and then in towards body

|---| right hand moves up, with fingers pointed upwards; hand sways back-and-forth to group and then moves it in towards self

REPEAT # 9

19:34.4 19:34.6
^ ^

. . . I agree I agree . . .

|----------> right hand extends out, palm up; then begins up-and-down motion with it.

|-------| left hand opens with fingers extended straight-out, and moves it up and down, and then back to rest position.

<---------> head is cocking up-and-down as he gazes towards the person he is addressing.

VERBAL TRANSCRIPT IN WHICH REPEAT #'S 10 & 11 ARE EMBEDDED

Brian: what does that mean she doesn't have no effect on us?
(long group pause)

Friz: (inaud.)
[

Elaine: it's (inaud.) toward social success in other words she she helps us um socially she talks about like alot of things (pause) she encourages everyone to (pause) to speak up and express themselves (pause) but is not really (pause) toward the group (pause) task or against it =

Brian: = (inaud.)

Robin: wait a minute it doesn't say (inaud.) does not have a . .

NONVERBAL TRANSCRIPTS OF REPEAT #'S 10 & 11

REPEAT # 10

29:24.9 29:25.5

. . . she she . . .

|-----| moves head away from and then in towards group

|-----| both hands and arms are extended upward and outward

|-----| both shoulders move away from and in towards group

|-----| torso moves away from and then in towards group

REPEAT # 11

29:30.6 29:31.0

. . . to (pause) to . . .

|----------| head cocks forward to group

|----------| torso bounces up-and-down once in chair

|----------| both hands and arms are extended up with fingers pointed straight-out; both palms are facing inward towards self, and begins making short jerky motions with hands in-and-out to group

VERBAL TRANSCRIPT IN WHICH REPEAT # 12 IS EMBEDDED

Elaine: (finishes reading orally from a paper she is holding) . . . but has no predictable effect on group satisfaction

Rick: this is this is a::: (pause) this sheet here is nothing like (pause) I answered the (pause) this sheet as (pause) this is not as I perceived you guys (pause) on here cause if you read through here (pause) ya I didn't count wrong (answering a talk-over from Brian) if you read (pause) (laughs)

Brian: [excuses (laughing)

Robin: what'd he say?

NONVERBAL TRANSCRIPT OF REPEAT # 12

31:32.7 31:33.1 31:33.6

this is this is . . .

|----------) cocks head slightly to right and then to left, as looks at group

|----------| right hand and arm are extended up and out towards group; right hand opens with palm towards group; b gins pointing with right index finger, then closes other fingers

VERBAL TRANSCRIPT IN WHICH REPEAT # 13 IS EMBEDDED

Elaine: u p f seems to be the (pause) verdict between um Jackie and um (pause) you Robin (pause) (inaud.)

Robin: [me? =

Elaine: = you and me (pause) you you and Jackie perc (pause)

group: (various group comments are made simultaneously)

Elaine: perceive me as a u p f right?

NONVERBAL TRANSCRIPT OF REPEAT # 13

33:29.1 33:29.5

. . . you you . . .

|------| head cocks back-and-forth to right of her

|------| back-and-forth motion with torso

|------| shoulders move back-and-forth with torso

|------| right arm is extended up and then down

|------| right hand moves up-and-down with arm, and then motions to person at right of him

VERBAL TRANSCRIPT IN WHICH REPEAT #'S 14, 15 & 16 ARE EMBEDDED

Robin: (reading orally from a paper she is holding) . . . low participation helps move the group away from satisfaction of goal achievement and (inaud.)

Rick: [does anybody (pause) does anybody moo move the group towards (pause) towards (inaud.)

Elaine: [(inaud.) we're anarchy =

Robin: = we all suck =

Rick: = no what it says is no one (pause) no one does any

Robin: [I know (pause) let's not pay attention to that line

Elaine: [but that's so true Brian I'm sorry

NONVERBAL TRANSCRIPTS OF REPEAT #'S 14, 15, & 16

REPEAT # 14

39:09.4 39:10.3 39:10.5

does anybody (pause) does anybody . . .

|-------------------------| head, torso, and both shoulders move slightly to left

|-------------------------| left hand and arm are uncrossed; left forearm is rested on edge of table, with left arm up; left hand is pointed out to group with index finger above other fingers; begins waving left hand back-and-forth

REPEAT # 15

39:11.8 39:13.0

. . . towards (pause) towards . . .
<----------> continues waving left hand back-and-forth from repeat # 14

|----------| head jerks up-and-down

|----------| torso jerks up-and-down

REPEAT # 16

39:17.0 39:17.5 39:18.8

. . . no one (pause) no one

|-----| head moves slightly forward

|-----| left hand moves up-and-down and is then extended out towards group

The Interactional Construction of Group Meaning

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THE INTERACTIONAL CONSTRUCTION OF GROUP MEANING

This paper presents a description and analysis of a small group meeting during which goals established in previous meetings are questioned and criticized, and alternative goals are suggested and discussed.

Much of the research on small groups during the past fifty years has concentrated primarily on isolating and manipulating variables in order to determine their effects on group outcomes. The predominant research paradigm has focused on input and output variables with very little emphasis or apparent interest in the through-puts or communication processes by which outcomes are achieved.

More recently, social scientists have become interested in process or developmental models of small groups. This research has typically resulted in some form of "phase model" which conceptualizes group process in terms of qualitatively and sometimes quantitatively distinct phases. Bales (1975) for example, has developed a three phase model of group process, suggesting groups go through the stages of "orientation", "evaluation", and "control." Fisher (1980) has also developed a phase model, indicating groups go through four group phases: "orientation", "conflict", "emergence", and "reinforcement." The phase model most relevant to the present analysis is Scheidel and Crowell's (1964) Spiral model of group decision making.

The Spiral model of decision making recognizes that groups do not proceed either smoothly or in a linear fashion. It suggests that groups build up decision making gradually through "anchoring" and "reach-testing" procedures. When proposals by group members meet with agreement from the group they serve as anchor points. The process then involves "reach-testing" of the proposal from the anchored position of agreement.

The analysis of the verbal transcripts on which this paper is based did uncover an interactional pattern similar to the pattern suggested by the Spiral model. Members were observe making proposals which were elaborated on or modified, and finally either agreed with, disagreed with, or dropped . New proposals would then be introduced by the same or different members. Despite the similarities with earlier research, the intent of the present analysis was not to corraborate Scheidel and Crowell's thesis. Instead, the focus was on the rules-based processes by which group members arrived at mutually acceptable definitions of reality.

In taking a rules-based approach to analyzing this interaction event, I am making the assumption that humans can and do make behavioral choices which are constrained by sets of rules for appropriate and inappropiate behaviors. A variety of definitions of the concept of rules have been proposed by scholars in the social sciences. Because of the diversity of definitions which exist frequent attempts have been made to synthesize and standardize the concept Shimanoff (1982, p.38), for example states that rules

scholars: "have generally agreed that rules are 'followable', prescriptive and contextual." She also insists that (1982,p.50): "the proper domain of rules is behavior....rules themselves do not prescribe what one must (must not) or should (should not) think." The focus of rules research is, therefore, on observable behaviors rather than on the motivations, attitudes, beliefs, etc. of people.

Sigman (1980,p.38) suggests that "rules be seen, not as causal elements accounting for the existence of behavior, but as structural descriptions of the behavioral options inherent in actors' social communication competence." In this paper rules are conceptualized in terms of behavioral options which, when employed by participants, have interactional consequences for the group as a whole.

One further conceptualization of rules which has been drawn upon in this paper is suggested by Aldrich (1972). Aldrich states: "the system of interaction can be treated as having a structure of its own, sui generis.....the structure of the interaction that results may bear little relationship to the motives with which person entered the situation." In this paper little attention is paid to the individual motivations of the group members. Although I assume people do have motivations, personal goals and so on, what is of interest is the ways in which they manage to create a structured interaction by implicitly or explicitly invoking rules.

The following analysis is based on a transcript of the March 13, 1984 group meeting and field notes which I collected for five months as a participant observor. The group was one of many formed in a

course on Small Group Communication Theory. Students were required to attend lectures concerned with theories of group process, and to form decision-making groups in which it was hoped they would be able to integrate their understanding of those theories experientially. Each group was required to complete a task-oriented project, one which could not be accomplished by an individual working alone. This project was to be presented to and evaluated by the entire class at the end of the semester.

The group observed for this paper decided to focus on cross-sex romantic relationships among college students. The group's initial goals were to investigate student opinions, ideas and beliefs about relationships, and to use the data collected to write some type of handbook about relationships.

To operationalize their goals the group wrote and distributed a "Relationship Survey." By the time the March 13th meeting was held the group had already written, distributed and collected the survey. The members had also spent an earlier group meeting discussing some of the "negative feedback" they had received about the survey, especially from graduate students and professors.

The verbal transcript which is the basis for the present analysis covers only the last part of the group meeting. The first part of this meeting consisted of a confrontation between what I call the six "core" members of the group and a seventh member who had missed several earlier group meetings, and according to group members had contributed very little to the production and distribution of the

survey. The six core members are named here as: Kim, Meg, Rog, Mary, Abe and Joan. The seventh member, Liz, had approached one of the group members, Meg, before the meeting began to apologize for her behavior and to ask Meg to ask the group members to accept Liz back as a member. Although the majority of group members had on another occasion explicitly stated to each other and to me that they did not want Liz to remain in the group, it took them approximately forty-five minutes to convey this to her. That interaction had been extremely tense and emotional for all the group members, and most of them seemed to feel that the meeting was drawing to a close after Liz finally got the message and departed.

The interaction which introduced the topic of the group's existing goals versus possible alternative goals suggests that group members felt the meeting had already more-or-less ended. Kim tells the group she has "something" to say, but that she will hold off "if this isn't the right time and everyone's not in the mood to sit and listen and talk." This is illustrated by the following example:

000 Kim: get really pissed off ( ) go through this at two seconds and I've gotta leave because I really have something to say but if this isn't the right time and everyone's not in the mood to sit and listen and talk.
001 Abe: whadyou wanta say.
002 Kim: and they wanta leave then I'll hold off on it.
003 Mary: I gotta leave in like twenty minutes.
004 Abe: what did you wanta say quick.
005 Mary: I'm perfectly willing to listen to you
006 Kim: it's gonna take longer.
007 Rob: quick.
008 Abe: What did you wanta say.
009 Mary: I gotta leave in like twenty minutes is that enough time?

The initial group reaction to Kim's proposal seems to reflect a willingness to listen, provided she says what she has to say quickly. Kim does not, however, immediately tell the group what the "something"

is that she has to say.

016 Kim: and i was kind of feeling and you know this is kind of shitty and I wasn't very but I'm I I don't like he was talking about people who're unhappy and and not committed and just go along and don't say anything about it. I don't feel that that's me. I feel I I went into this group I really cared about what was going on(.) I was committed I'm interested in the project and the subject.....but for the most part I think its shit.

Instead she prefaces the "something" by saying (016): "like he (the instructor) was talking about people who're unhappy and not committed and just go along and don't say anything about it." She further asserts that she <u>is</u> committed and interested in the project before finally telling the group (016): "but for the most part I think it's (the survey) shit." Kim's references to the instructor's comments and to group unhappiness seem to function to set up an interactional frame legitimizing the subsequent critical commentary. Kim apparently attempts to identify herself as a person who is acting in accordance with group norms (i.e. commitment and interest) prior to violating those norms with her wholesale criticism of the survey. She does this by invoking a "rule" which refers to what every group member "knows" about the necessity of putting into practice the concepts discussed in class. When she says, "like he was talking", she appears to be implicitly justifying her potentially problematic behavior by referring to a set of overriding constraints (the course requirements) in which the group norms of commitment and interest can be seen to be embedded.

Kim's invocation of a "rule" suggests that she and other group members recognize that there are constraints on certain types of interactional contributions. These constraints are both external

(e.g.course requirements) and internal (e.g.group norms/rules), and impact on the interaction by regulating the manner in which group members frame their contributions. In this case Kim's reference to the instructor's comments seems to function to make external constraints relevent to the ongoing interaction. She defines a reality for the group which will require them to actively discuss their feelings, opinions, beliefs, and so on about the group project.

In addition to this Kim seems to employ a discursive device with the dual functions of criticism plus mitigation. The criticism seems to be required by external constraints while the mitigation is required by internal constraints. Once the interactional frame has been set in motion and members begin to discuss their differences in opinion this device is repeatedly used by Kim:

033 Kim: oh really it's not even that (.) I really do think we've done a lot and we've done something worthwhile but as far as really going under this guise of relationships and insights to relationships(.)I don't think with every(.)even with everything we've gone through and making all those surveys we are not gonna be any more insightful than we were when we began.

040 Kim: I don't think the discussion of whatever we I think that's very helpful (.)I think you may learn something from y'know whatever we all have to say and helping you out specifically with that but I think (.)the way those questions and everything(.)even the questions that are about oh when your ex-lover calls what do you do (.)that's so situational and that depends on who it is and who's calling and what.

In these two cases rather than invoking rules, Kim seems to be explicitly affirming that she believes group members have done something "worthwhile," while at the same time insisting that she feels the survey is relatively worthless. All three instances of "disclaimers" (Hewitt and Stokes, 1975), can be seen to reference certain aspects of the group's reality, particularly that interaction

can (and must) be managed by two sets of constraints.

As noted earlier, Kim's rule invocation appears to have established an interactional framework which is accepted and sustained by the other group members. The framework can be conceptualized as a set of rules or limitations which group members adhere to when they make their interactional contributions. The framework belongs to the group as a whole rather than to individual members of the group, and serves as a guide-line for distinguishing appropriate from inappropriate contributions. The members carry on an extensive discussion during which they argue about the validity of the survey as data and whether or not it can be used in writing the survey, as well as the various ways it can be so used. It is apparent that members of the group came to this meeting with different sets of understandings regarding the purposed for which they survey was writte, and these understandings seem to be associated with different strategies for reaching slightly different group goals.

In the course of the interaction as individuals verbally display their understandings to each other, the group discovers these differences. Since it is essential that they work together to complete a unified project, this discovery leads to a great deal of confusion and conflict as the group attempts to negotiate a new set of mutually acceptable meanings for their goals.

Before analyzing the process by which the negotiation of meanings takes place in this group, it seems sensible to discuss the various differences in understanding with which group members began the

meeting. Specifically, two basic conceptualizations of the uses to which the survey will be put seem to dominate. One of these concerns the survey as a collection of statistical data, whereas the other focuses on the survey as a vehicle for potential group discussion.

Kim, Joan, Abe and Mary suggest that the answers from the survey were meant to be used to statistically formulate conclusions in the handbook.

016 Kim: I-think there's (.)it's very difficult for for any of those questions to make sense out of what's said to take what the people are saying seriousl(.)to not to look at the question and not say it's situational and not to say it is(.)means anything.....what we're actually gonna turn out with is a(.)a handbook of what we believe should have been the answers to those questions and I don't really think that's helpful or good.

045 Mary: I think there are questions on the survey though that are good (.)some of em like the male (.) I got all male surveys cause I wanted to see what males say(.)and some of em like is it possible to love two people at the same time(.)have you ever cheated on someone (.)things like that.

083 Kim: now why don't we just throw em out the window right now instead of busting our butts to find out these these statistics that don't mean anything
084 Abe: because there are certain things in the survey that we can use
085 Joan: yeah there are some

In the first example, Kim seems to imply that she believes the group intends to use the data collected statistically. This seems evident in her use of the phrase, "what we're gonna turn out with is a(.)a handbook of what we believe should of been the answers to those questions." Mary, Abe and Joan are more explicit about their understanding that the survey was meant for statistical purposes. They refer to specific questions or to "certain things" which they seem to feel would be useful as is.

Although these members seem to share one set of understandings,

they differ in terms of how they feel the surveys can be used in obtaining group goals. By telling the group she has "something" to say, and then later implying that she doesn't feel that using the surveys statistically would be "helpful or good," Kim seems to be preparing the way for suggesting a goal that will be both different from the original goal and "helpful." She clarifies the 'something" she has in mind in the following:

025 Kim: maybe if we could go through the survey and find out(.)well if we had said this instead of that maybe it would of been worth something (.) but to put out a handbook with our survey and say this question (.) sh that's what's wrong.

In this statement Kim proposes that the group use the survey as it is, but instead of coming up with a statistical analysis, she suggests they analyze the survey in terms of what a valid survey ought to be. Mary, Joan, and Abe seem willing to agree with Kim"s criticism of the survey to some extent, but they are unwilling to give up completely on the original goal. They seem determined to use at least some portions of the survey as suggested by the statements: "I think there are questions on the survey though that are good" and "There are certain things on the survey that we can use."

Rog and Meg appear to have a totally different conceaptualization of the original purpose of the survey and its relationship to the handbook:

053 Meg: I mean I thought (.) I was always under the impression that maybe the surveys would be used just for more discussions and from the discussions
054 Rog: yes
055 Meg: we would come up with ideas that would be incorporated into a handbook and that's why we named it insight rather than answers to
056 Rog: right.

Their notion of the survey suggests that it was meant to be used as the basis for discussions about relationships which would then be

transformed into some type of group insights into relationships.

The differing conceptions of how the survey is to be used to achieve the group's goals initiates several "mini-discussions" in which one or more of the definitions is promoted by some members and attacked by other members. At times the discussion also branches off into areas which will be affected by whatever decision the group ultimately makes about the surveys. The question of how the survey should be used in formulating the handbook seems to function to initiate a discussion about just what the handbook is going to be. It seems that as long as members believed they all shared a common understanding of what the group's goals were, none of the group membes attempted to make personal understandings explicit. Just as the meaning of the survey has taken on a problematic status in this meeting, so does the meaning of the handbook:

104 Kim: see the whole hangup I have is this handbook and I mean
105 Rog: it's not a handbook
106 Meg: OK(.)let's talk about that cause I have a hang hangup on that too
107 Kim: is it gonna be just a bunch of our discussions (.) what the six of us decid y'know
108 Abe: doesn't have to be a handbook (.) could be an essay could be a few things about it can be whatever we want it to be
109 Meg: OK (.) well what do we want it
110 Kim: OK (.) well what is it gonna be
111 Meg: and and and what is it gonna be (.) I gotta have some idea about this
112 Kim: because in my mind (.) I thought we're we're making something that either we could distribute y'know (.) at first we're saying distribute and then we're saying maybe because it would be too costly (.) but distribute to people to help them out in some way whether y'know it's actually the truth or not that to help other people out (.) I don't understand how these things that we're coming into can help them any more than jut talking to one of us.

During this interaction it becomes clear that the group members do not have any clear idea of what the handbook is supposed to be. The ony possible definition suggested is Kim saying, "is it gonna be

just a bunch of our discussions." Initially, this does not seem to be a negative evaluation, however, when she later adds, "I don't understand how these things we're coming into can help them any more than just talking to one of us," she seems to be clearly attacking Meg and Rog's definition of the survey. The group does not come to any conclusions about the handbook at this point and returns to this issue later on.

An examination of the interactional processes by which the group attempts to negotiate a definition of goals displays a sequential organization initiated by the introduction of a proposal by a group member. This introduction consists of a "bid" for a particular view of reality. An optional elaboration or modification phase follows, as does a period in which the proposal is either rejected, accepted or dropped by the group. Elaboration/modification which leads to rejection of a bid is characterized by the focused or lengthy use of ridicule by one or more members and the defense of the proposal by the suggesting member. The ridicule appears to exaggerate the reality claims of the initial bid.

In the following dialogue Kim ridicules Meg's bid that the surveys be defined as having been "just a springboard for discussion."

060 Meg: I think it was just a springboard for discussion (.) now
061 Kim: I really think we we need an excuse to do something tangible
062 Rog: (laughs)
063 Kim: like to say, (.) "hey, Carl ( ) because
064 Meg: If you said it
065 Kim: we said (.) oh we're doing this a this group thing and we're just gonna sit around and talk because that sounds like shit (.) well here's a six page survey that is actually a piece of shit but it was something tanglibe that we can say well we wrote all these questions (.) we passed em out to make us look good (.) to make us look like we're actually doing somethi

066 Meg: well besides tat it also helped with the process of us all becoming as as close as we are
067 Kim: oh sure
068 Abe: but you know what else the surveys
069 Meg: I mean we couldn'ta jumped into a discussion right at the beginning of the class
070 Kim: No of course not but it's
071 Joan: well then let's state that's what it
072 Rog: it's like the
073 Joan: was there for not (.) not using it statistically but that it's what brought up there

In this case, Kim starts out ridiculing the idea that the survey was meant to be a springboard for discussion by making a counter suggestion that it was really, "an excuse to do somethig tangible." Meg's response, "well besides that", seems to be implicitly agreeing with Kim while at the same time suggesting that the survey did serve other purposes for the group. It may be that Meg's partial agreement with Kim functions to force Kim to also agree with Meg's contention that, "we couldn'ta jumped into a discussion right at the beginning of the class." Other group members, notably Joan, seem willing to accept Meg's conceptualization of the survey as a springboard for discussion at least retrospectively, i.e. "well then let's state that's what it was there for." By accepting this definition of the survey, it seems that the group is both constructing a future course of action and reconstructing the history of group actions. The group's willingness to do this suggests that such reconstructions are not problematic occurences and may be expected and accepted in interaction.

Another example of the use of ridicule to attack another member's proposal occurs when Rog and Abe are trying to get the group to agree to using some of the questions from the survey to statistically formulate the handbook.

159 Joan: what (.) ah how can we use it
160 Abe: how can we use em (.) because we're saying wha he just said

(.) what keeps people goin out.
161 Rog: what's wrong with saying (.) males (.) O K are attracted to this and this and this
162 Joan: because by doin that yer limiting yourself (.) yer cuttin off some real answers we (.) we did a hundred forty people like
163 Rog: like what (.) like what (.) I need a fer instance
164 Joan: we made one hundred and forty (.) OK (.) uh what attracts you (.) ass 165 Abe: so then put em down
166 Joan: I mean what are we gonna get up before the group and say well em one hundred thirty eight really likes asses (laughter from group members) one hundred and fifty likes eyes
167 Abe: don't ya see that's not the thing (.) these are all different things that attract people (.) this particular question or topic is all these things do and we can put them down we can put down that maybe more people said that eyes attract or personality
168 Joan: is this quality though
169 Abe: yes it's quality
170 Mary: I don't think it is (.) to me the handbook is become something tangible we hand in at the end to say we did something.

In this case the use of ridicule seems to be more directly effective in discrediting Rog and Abe's idea than it was in the first example. The image Joan created when she says, "em one hundred thirty-eight likes asses," seems quite potent. It is noticeably avoided by Abe who continues to argue for his idea by saying, "maybe we can put down that maybe more poeple said eyes attract or personality." The potency of this technique is also suggested by Mary's, "to me the handbook is become something tangible."

It seems that the function of ridicule in these two cases is to discredit members opinions by exaggerating the consequences of going along with a propsal. Both Joan and Kim point to external constraints which would be violated if the group were to go along with these proposals. Kim's comment, 'we passed em out to make us look good (.) to make us look like we're actually doing something" and Joan's comment, "I mean what are we gonna go up before the group and say (.) well um one hundred thirty eight really likes asses" both seem to imply that the entire group would be subject to sanctions if they were

to follow up on the proposals.

The following excerpt is characteristic of bids which seem to be accepted by the group.

229 Mary: why don't we go in front of the class and tell them about what we learned (.) tell them we did this survey.
230 Kim: and that's ( ).
231 Mary: tell them the survey was shit.
232 Kim: that's exactly what I'm saying.
233 Mary: tell them
234 Kim: tell them what we did
235 Mary: we spent time talking to each other
236 Kim: how we blew it
237 Rog: where do we go from here
238 Abe: that's gonna be seen as a copout
239 Kim: no way.
240 Joan: no
241 Kim: that (.) that's going along with what happened in our group and realizing it and doing something with it.

Mary's proposal that the group, "go in front of the class and tell them about what we learned", is a reintroduction in a modified form of a proposal made at various points in the discussion. It is interesting to note the lexical changes which occur as this basic proposal is reintroduced again and again. Initially Kim suggests the group do their project on (114) "how the hell we screwed this up." Soon after, Joan suggests (121) "maybe our group project should be us sitting in front of the group and saying (.) y'know this is some of the things that went on in our group." The phrase, "how the hell we screwed up" is transformed lexically both in terms of specificity, ("we" to "some things") and in terms of evaluation ("screwed up" to "things) and in

terms of evaluation ("screwed up" to "things that went on"). Kim's statement seems to be specifically blaming the group for doing something wrong, whereas Joan's statement talks vaguely in terms of things which the group has done which are neither good nor bad.

When Mary reintroduces the proposal with, "why don't we tell them about what we learned" another set of transformations has taken place. The specificity of Kim's statement has been retained ("we" to "we") and has an evaluative component. The difference is that by using the phrase, "what we've learned", Mary has turned a negatively evaluated activity into a positively evaluated activity. It is interesting that the group members refused to accept Kim's idea until it has been transformed. Specifically, a definition of the history of the group is created which they were willing to collectively accept and present to the class. This definition is consisten with one external constraint on the group, i.e., that it engage in a learning experience.

It appears that the process by which the group arrives at a mutually acceptable definition of the group goal is essentially a process of constructing, transforming and redefining reality . The group members begin with different sets of assumptions and understandings of goals, which are displayed, discussed, and either dropped or transformed into new understandings as members agree or disagree with one another.

This process can be charted through the transformations in lexical choices, and can also be seen as constrained by sets of rules which are both internal and external to the group. In this paper I have attempted to demonstrate how these constraints function in the establishment of interactional frameworks. The rules which are made relevant by contributions of group members seem to precipitate the use of sets of rules which form the interactional framework within which

appropriate behavioral choices are made by group members.

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Questions in Group Discourse

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Questions in Group Discourse

The following work is concerned with questioning behavior. Such behavior is generally employed by actors in a wide variety of ways, ranging from requesting clarifications of information to sanctioning individuals for inappropriate behavior. In particular, this investigation focuses on the strategic uses of questioning to direct the process, content, and outcomes of group work.

Data Source

The data source for this research was an undergraduate small-group communication course at SUNY-Buffalo. At the beginning of the semester "small-groups", varying in size from six to nine members, were formed according to a group task dimension. Membership in a particular small-group stemmed from a "self-selection" process; class members elected to enter a particular group according to its established task. Class work involved weekly lectures, in-class small-group exercises, and a semester-long group task. The group under investigation here consisted of five people, three females (L, C, and K) and two males (R, D), with a task of taking underprivileged children camping for a weekend.

Except where indicated, the segments analysed below were all transcribed from audio tape recordings of the "camping" group's out-of-class meetings. The majority of segments used in this paper stem from one particular meeting held at D's house.

A Structural Taxonomy of Questions

The following "single turn" category system is employed as a simple "first order" structural taxonomy for distinguishing certain apparent physical features associated with questions. It is presumed that preliminary organized patterns of behavior may be disclosed in the analysis.

Taxonomy I: Utterance(s) within a Single Turn at Talk

1. Single question
2. Multiple questions (i.e. question cluster)
3. Question(s) in extended discourse
    a. Opening question
    b. Embedded question
    c. Concluding question

A more complex structural category system could be designed by taking into account the environment in which Taxonomy I type questions are situated. That is, by hierarchically extending the analysis to include the immediately adjacent utterances of other group members we can more accurately depict the discourse structure.

Taxonomy II: Questioning Utterance embedded in:

4. Question(s) by other(s)
5. Discourse by other(s)
6. Combination discourse environments by other(s)
   a. Previous question, subsequent discourse by other(s)
   b. Previous discourse, subsequent question by other(s)

Hierarchical extension, represented by category II, implies that the two category systems are not mutually exclusive. On the contrary, accurate depiction of the discourse structure demands that the taxonomies be used in a successive manner in making finer structural distinctions.

For the purpose of the present analysis the first taxonomy discussed above (i.e. Taxonomy I) is sufficient. I start by first looking briefly at examples of each of the first two categories in this taxonomy, suggesting that these categories generally function in the manner of "sincere" epistemic requests. Focus is then shifted to the third questioning category, stressing in particular a speaker's questioning of information states prior to discourse (i.e. category 3a). It is shown that the latter category of questioning behavior can be seen as functioning in an especially strategic manner during interaction.

Analysis

As indicated earlier, the setting for the transcribed segments is D's house; the meeting was held in his living room. R was the only group member absent at the beginning of the meeting; L, K, C and D were present, as well as the researcher, M. Members were seated around a large table with ten to fifteen plastic cups full of earring parts; the meeting was called in order to make costume jewelry which was to be sold on campus to finance the camping trip.

Camping reservations at the park became a central focus of early discussion during this meeting. In this regard, K had recently received a receipt and "camping information brochure" for the cabin registration fee which had been paid earlier by mail. In the segments below, much of K's discourse on camping is read directly from this brochure.

As segment 1 on the following page suggests, the talk during the initial stages of the meeting appears to be especially diffuse and "unfocused". There is extensive "cross-talk" and "interruption" behavior. The predominant form of discourse involves parallel discussions occurring within subgroups. For example, in the segment below, two parallel or simultaneous conversations take place.

Segment 1: K and C are discussing camping, while L, M and D are making and discussing earrings, K stops her discussion with C, and suddenly begins speaking loudly.

Camping discussion	Earring discussion
	01 D: ((inaudible comment related to earrings)) Is this long enough like to make another earring?
02 K: We have-	04 L: Yea
03 K: You know what we have,unfortunately? I realize (pause) we don't have type 3 cabin we have type 2.Type 3 has 3 rooms, paneled interior,kitchenete, fireplace-(pause)	05 D: It's loose (shakes earring)
	06 L: Wwoow, what type do we have?
07 K: No inside water, 6 people,and only 3 cabins in area C.I think we have type 2-one room,rough interior no inside water ((said with laughter)). Want to hear any rules?	((backround laughter by C and L))
08 C: How do you know what kind we have?	
09 K: Paid receipt for cabin should be used as a gate pass to enter the park.	10 D: Ooow Oooww Oow Ooww
	11 M: OOhh man! ((cups spilled))
	12 L: Get under the bottom. See I just want this part.
Cabin rent includes-	13 M: You just want what?
Would you like to hear this?. [ ]	
14 C: Aaaahhhh Oooohhh::::::::::: ayyy gaawwd you know what's gunna happen? ((*what* heard from K and D)) When we go into the campsite they're gunna count how many people we're bringing in.	
15 D: No they don't.	
16 C: ya sure?	
17 D: Yea, we went, we went up to the cabin (pause)=	

=((sudden extensive overlapping speech occurrs during this pause: M and L begin discussing earrings while K,C and D continue the camping discussion. After approximately 15 seconds of this untranscribable discourse K can be heard to say "we're gunna have a problem here".))

We can start the analysis by first noting the various questioning categories present in this segment. Category 1 questions can be seen throughout this segment. In each case they seem to act as "sincere" requests by a speaker for obtaining clarifying information from a particular other or others. These questions function as sincere epistemic requests. This can be seen in the interaction between D(turn 01) and L(turn 04); L(06) and K(07); C(08) and K(no response); M(13) and L(no response); C(16) and D(17). Rather than pursue a detailed analysis of this function my aim here is simply to note the fact that this questioning category is generally concerned with sincere epistemic requests (i.e. a "sincere" request regarding the contents of a particular information state).

There are surely singular exceptions to the apparent rule of "sincere epistemic requests" associated with the examples of category 1 cited above (e.g. rhetorical questions). But for the purposes of the present preliminary investigation I wish to focus on certain gross features of the questioning categories

Turning to the second questioning category, that of multiple questioning, we note that no examples of this category are present in the above segment. However, this type of behavior did occur at several points later in the meeting. The following is one such example taken from discourse shortly after segment 1. In this segment C is concerned with the lack of facilities in the type 2 cabin which K said she rented for the trip (note, K asserted this earlier in segment 1, turn 02).

Segment 2

55 C: How come-I mean-what type of cabin do we have? How do we know what type we have?
56 K: I-I forget (pause) I know type 2. I'm pretty sure we have type 2 cabin (pause) I-know-why I-know, cuz we only paid 18 dollars a day.

In a manner similar to category 1, discussed above, the category 2 example above is a "sincere" epistemic request. All other examples of such multiple questioning behavior in the transcripts form part of a similar adjacency pair type, where the contents of particular information states are being requested and answers are given.

Again, my aim here has not been to perform an exhaustive analysis of the first two questioning categories. Rather my concern has been to briefly point to some examples so as to note some differences between these two categories and the third questioning category.

If we now move to examples of the third category we see marked differences from the previous two categories. For example, the "you know what...?" question by K, in 03, is of the 3a category type. On its "surface" (i.e. out of context), the question appears to be a request regarding the status of group members' information states. A further examination of the discourse environment associated with this utterance, however, suggests that this is not simply the case. Three things should be noted in this regard:

(1) K apparently does not wait for a response from group members;

(2) rather, she proceeds immediately to provide her own follow-up answer; and

(3) other group members do not respond immediately to the question and apparently do not identify the utterance as a request for information.

Thus, relative to the previously cited examples, associated with questioning categories 1 and 2, the syntactic structure has changed. In contrast to the pattern of a question followed by the response of another, as in the previous examples, we have the example of a questioner supplying her own follow-up. Rather than a request for the contents of particular information states, it appears this question is serving another function in the discourse. My contention, perhaps obvious, is that the question is acting as an indirect request for listener attention.

To better understand the contextual differences which contribute to the distinctly different syntactic structures (and thus the contextual differences which contribute to the distinctly different listening/understanding of the participants) we need to examine the behaviors "surrounding" the act of questioning in the light of Searle's "felicity" conditions for speech acts, particularly those concerned with the propositional content of the act.

Searle's seminal work on speech acts (1969) aimed at discovering "what conditions are necessary and sufficient for...[an illocutionary act]...to have been successfully and non-defectively performed in the utterance of a given sentence" (54). In doing so he attempted to analyze statements of the form "X asked a question" into statements containing such ideas as intentions, rules, and states of affairs specified by the rules.

Although Searle analyzed requests and questions separately, he noted that "asking questions is really a special case of requesting, viz. requesting information (real question) or requesting that the hearer display knowledge (exam question)" (69). For requests and questions he set up the following conditions:

RULE	REQUEST	QUESTION
Propositional.... Content	Future act A of H	Any proposition or propositional function.
Preparatory.....	1) H is able to do A. S believes H is able to do A. 2) It is not obvious to both S and H that H will do A in the normal course of events on his own.	1) S does not know 'the answer'(but see comments) 2)It is not obvious to both S and H that H will provide info at that time without being asked.
Sincerity.....	S wants H to do A.	S wants this information.
Essential.....	Counts as an attempt to get H to do A.	Counts as an attempt to elicit this info from H.
Comments:	Order and command,as requests, have the additional preparatory rule that S must be in a position of authority over H.	There are two types of questions,(a) real questions,(b) exam questions. In real questions S wants to know the answer;in exam questions, S wants to know if H knows.

Returning to our discussion of the question in 03, note first that the question utterance itself does not provide sufficient propositional content for the listener to ascertain what information states the questioner, K, is concerned about (i.e. there is no explicit reference to cabin type in the questioning utterance).

Further, it can be suggested that the context/backround to this utterance does not provide sufficient propositional content for the listeners. I have no record of any discussion of cabin type in this meeting or any meeting which I attended (note, however, I did not attend all meetings). The privacy of K's knowledge, regarding the particular cabin type she rented, is also evident in several additional points:

(1) K was the group member in charge of camping reservations and received all information associated with camping; and

(2) the utterances in 06 and 08 indicate that L and C had no knowledge of cabin type. (I characterized L and C as the most active members of the group, and group members themselves characterized L as the unofficial group leader.)

In addition, the particle in 02 (i.e. "We have-"), followed by an extended pause, suggests that K was initially going to inform the group members of the type of cabin "We have", but opted instead to utter a question. Only after the question, in the subsequent discourse of 03, do we learn that K's query regarding "what we have" concerns the type of cabin "we have". Only later, in 06 and 08, after K's reference to cabin type in 03, do we see members interested in this aspect of the trip. In this regard, note especially L's comment in 06 which indicates that she didn't even discern that in 03 K had already queried, and made an initial pronouncement regarding, the cabin type.

Thus, K appears to be querying members about an information state to which she is solely privy and she seems cognizant of this fact in

uttering her question. With regard to Searle's felicity conditions, such an interpretation eliminates the question under consideration from being a sincere question: it lacks propositional content (propositional content rule); it is neither an "real" nor an "exam" question due to K's prior knowledge state and her knowledge of its privacy (preparatory rule); and K does not actually seek an answer (sincerity rule).

In effect, the question examined here acts as an epistemic request without supplying the requisite propositional content (i.e. it "questions" without directing the listener "where to look"). Rather than a sincere question, then, the utterance acts simply as a device for orienting listeners to subsequent discourse. Thus the 3a questioning behavior, in this example, appears to elicit another's listening without the requirement of a verbal contribution by the listener (however, see the next example for a slight variation on this). In other words, this question acts as an indirect request for listener attention.

Several turns later, in turn 14, K's partner in the "camping discussion" sub-group, C, employs a slight variation on the earlier 3a question behavior. The syntactic structure in this later segment is almost identical to the example analyzed above. The slight variations in 14 involve:

(1) a loud/dramatic presequence particle prior to the question;

(2) a brief pause by C after asking the question, apparently waiting for attention prior to her discourse; and

(3) several members do in fact respond briefly, asking "what?".

Beyond these differences, the structure in 14 is almost identical to previous examples: C questions the status of information states and then goes on to supply her own answer.

The structural similarities are unmistakable. In particular, in this example the question's lack of propositional content and the private nature of the questioner's knowledge are even clearer than in the preceding example: it would be virtually impossible for group members to know that the "happening" C is referring to in the question in turn 14 concerns her recognition of the problematic nature of the relationship between:

(1) the number of people allowed in a cabin, vaguely cited by K in turn 07 (i.e. six permitted, plans were made to bring twelve, six adults and six children); and

(2) the requirement to pass through the gate with those people, vaguely suggested by K in 09.

A related example of 3a questioning behavior, performed by still another group member, further suggests that such questioning behavior is a generally employed interactional device:

Segment 3: [C is describing the rented cabin from the camping brochure]

60 C: O.K. so listen. This is the kind of cabin we ha-It's a one room? There's no bedroom?
61 D: [ ] Yup
62 D: I know exactly what it is=
63 C: =What are we going to do?=
64 D: =Know what it is? It's ahh 14 by 14. There's just an open room. There's like there's ahh in the corner there's like ahh probably a stove.

In turns 60 and 63, questioning categories 2 and 1 are used as "normal" epistemic requests; C voices aloud her concerns regarding the rented cabin as she reads from the camping brochure. In contrast, the 3a questioning structure in 64 appears to elicit the attention of listeners and to establish a subsequent turn at talk; it does not function to request information from co-interactants.

It is important to note that D did not gain listener attention after turn 62, but by employing the category 3a questioning of information states in 64 gains a turn at talk. In employing a generic "(you) know what?" question the private nature of D's background knowledge, regarding the cabin, is clearly evident (see 61 and 62). Unlike the previous examples, however, the propositional content of the question is clearly present; not in the content of the utterance itself but in the contextual (i.e. background understanding) of the participants. That is, turns 60 through 63 set a frame for further interaction, allowing a "competent native" to index the pro term "it", in the 64 question, to the "cabin" in 60 (compare this with the absence of propositional content in the previous example; C's turn 14 in segment 1).

Besides the presence of the propositional content, however, the structure is identical to the first example (i.e. 03):
(1) D questions information states;
(2) group members do not respond verbally to D's question; and
(3) D answers his own question immediately.

As in the previous examples, the question is "insincere" owing to the apparently private nature of the information state involved. In addition, the lack of attention by group members, particularly C, following D's assertion of relevant knowledge in 62, clearly suggests that D is employing the questioning of information states in 64 as a means for requesting attention and not for requesting information per se.

Questioning and fission/fusion behavior

In examining the nature of questioning behavior (or any interactional behavior for that matter) we must be cognizant of the "multi-functional nature" of such behavior. Such multiple functioning stems from a behavior's embeddedness in a hierarchical organization. Ellis points to this in a recent work "Influence of Context" (1983):

> Understanding how the various elements of a linguistic system combine and cohere is the key to understanding how **meaningful** messages are produced (my emphasis). The relationships among linguistic units are complex and operate on multiple levels such that one structural level (e.g. morphemics, semantics) contextualizes another and seeks its own context in other units. I argue ... that language is organized around a series of structural levels and the nature of the organization is responsible for coherent language use. More specifically, language and discourse serve the **functional** requirements of communication and cannot be separated from an extralinguistic context (situation). The act of tying language to a situation is the essential communicative act and any quality of language use, even syntactical structures, is a function of larger discourse requirements (222).

My aim in the remainder of this paper is to suggest how questioning behavior functions to organize the larger units of social interaction within the small group studied here. In particular, I will initially focus on how the category 3a questioning-of-information-states acts to strategically manage the phenomena of "fission" and "fusion" (Sigman, 1980). However, before proceeding, we must briefly review the latter two concepts. This, in turn, requires a brief review of the turn taking literature.

The turn taking literature

In his book Questioning Strategies in Sociolinguistics, Lindsey Churchill discusses "The Problem of Context," calling context "the leading problem in sociology". In doing so he notes the work of Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson's 1974 study on turn-taking in conversation. They described their turn-taking system as context-free and context-sensitive; context-free in that the system is independent of many contextual features; yet it is context-sensitive in that it is highly flexible because of its local management features.

Churchill sees the importance of this work not in the possible "establishment of a thoroughly grounded rule-governed sociology" but as a counterexample for students who believe in the total situatedness of events; the opportunity is to see what features of context remain in a system as strongly followed (or so he says) as this one.

Central to this context-free system of turn-taking is that it is organized to permit one-speaker-at-a-time. The remainder of this paper is concerned with: (1) refuting this one-speaker at a time notion for small-group behavior in an "informal meeting" context; and, more specifically, (2) noting how questioning behavior is employed in the management of multiple discourse events.

The one-speaker-at-a-time structure of interaction is not only a position held in the works of the authors cited above. For example, Coulthard states:

> One of the basic facts of conversation is that the roles of speaker and listener change, and this occurs with remarkably little overlapping speech...Sacks suggests that there is an underlying rule in American English conversation--'at least and not more than one party talks at a time.' This is not an empirical fact...but rather a normative or 'observably oriented to' feature of conversation, in other words it is a rule used by conversationalists themselves. If more than or less than one party is talking it is 'noticeable' and participants set out to 'remedy' the situation and return to a state of one and only one speaker...In other words turns to speak typically occur successively without overlaps... (1977: 52-53)

In addition, Sacks (1974) and his colleagues write that interruptions are violations and require repair mechanisms: "... If two parties find themselves talking at the same time one of them will stop prematurely, thus repairing the trouble" (1974:701).

Rather than a universally "normative" feature of talk, as suggested above, other researchers contend that the structure of turn-taking is a product of interaction in small groups, negotiated by participants as individuals and as collective members of multiple potential "sub-groups". Within the context of the present work the use of

questioning can be seen as a critical procedure in this negotiation process. The group meetings studied here indicate that deviations from a one-speaker-at-a-time structure can be maintained for extended periods without the resultant parallel discourse being negatively sanctioned. Particularly in the initial stages of the group meetings, sub-groups "split off" repeatedly into parallel dyadic and triadic interactions, alternating their separate discussions for a period of time with regroupings.

Sigman (1980) employs the terms "fission" and "fusion" to refer to the processes of conversational splitting and regrouping:

> Fission is said to occur when a conversation involving at least four participants "breaks down" momentarily, i.e., the one-speaker-at-a-time turn-taking format is relinquished, so that two (or more) subconversations are transpiring.
>
> By "fusion" I mean to describe the process by which interactants renegotiate a one-speaker-one-turn organization for conversation and construct a single focus of participant attention from what were previously separate conversations (4).

In summarizing his fission/fusion work Sigman concludes:

> ... interactants do in fact manage simultaneous talking turns through the appropriate fission behavior. The allocation of multiple listener and multiple speaker roles may be one alternative to the one-turn speaking format available to participants (8).

In discussing previous literature related to this topic, Sigman does point to Sack's term "schism" as being similar to "fission" but notes that Sacks et al. "neither reconcile the existence of such a situation with their previous speaking rules nor provide data on the process" (8).

The aim of the work presented here is not to examine this phenomenon of fission/fusion in detail but rather to examine, in the particular context of small-groups, how a particular questioning category is employed strategically to manage such phenomena. In this regard the concept of "formal/informal" meeting is, I think, a useful abstraction.

The group meetings observed for this study were principally of an "informal" nature; no explicitly defined role structure or rules of order were discussed or designated. Although the formal/informal distinction is admittedly problematical, I introduce it in order to suggest a rules analogy for turn-taking in small groups. This is particularly relevant in light of the context-free system of turn-taking postulated by Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson cited above. The analogy I am suggesting is that of the game of basketball.

The game of chess is generally used as an analogy for understanding rules and the negative sanctioning associated with improper (i.e. deviant) moves. Nevertheless, the lack of contextual flexibility associated with the rules of chess recommend basketball as a more appropriate analogy for turn-taking behavior. For example, in a unofficiated (i.e. "informal") game of "pick-up" basketball the rules are relaxed considerably and fouls are seldom called except for flagrant misconduct. If a particular individual does call fouls repeatedly, he/she usually receives severe verbal abuse, often being chided for excessive complaining.

The basketball analogy more accurately depicts conversational turn-taking patterns than does the game of chess because the rules for turn-taking can be seen to be context dependent (i.e. dependent on the "formal/informal" context for their application). The one-speaker-at-a-time structure of turn-taking is not universally normative in "informal" small groups (Sigman, 1980; Jaffe and Feldstein, 1970; Efron, 1942). Rather, the structure and associated rules applications are a product of continual negotiation by the speaker/hearers. As will be noted below, questioning behavior is one of the strategic forms of talk employed in the fission/fusion negotiation process.

Thus, in the apparent "informal game" of interaction studied here parallel, interruptive and cross-talk were common. These phenomena occurred without any apparent sanctioning of the violations or deviations from the one-speaker-at-a-time structure. In fact, in direct agreement with the basketball analogy discussed above, group member D, who repeatedly became upset by cross-talk and other "interruptive" behavior, received repeated verbal and non-verbal negative sanctioning from fellow group members. In addition, D was ranked at the bottom in regards to "maintenance (morale) function" during peer evaluations at the end of the semester. I suggest that D's inability to develop the requisite fission/fusion skills was critical to the group members in the process of their forming this negative impression.

Analysis of strategic uses of questioning behavior

In light of the previous discussion, if we now return to segment 1 the uses of questioning behavior in managing talk become apparent.

In our previous analysis we were largely unconcerned with the perlocutionary effect of the questions we examined. In the case of strategic uses of questioning this is not the case. For example, K's questioning behavior in segment 1--turns 03, 07 and 09--functions to reorganize (i.e. fuse) the group's interaction structure which currently contains parallel discourse sub-groups. Specifically, it appears as though K is attempting to orient the "earring" sub-group to her discourse on camping regulations.

In particular, in this segment K appears to employ questioning behavior in three different ways in her attempt to gain the attention of group members. That is, K's use of questions in 03, 07 and 09, can be seen as three indirect requests for the attention of the "earring" sub-group.

Recalling our earlier discussion of K's 3a questioning of information states, we can note here that the suggested attempt at fusion in 03 was only marginally successful; L responded and momentarily broke contact with "her" subgroup, turn 06. However, three further points should be noticed here:

(1) L is obviously attending more to her sub-group than to K's discourse because she asks a question which was "answered" in K's immediately prior discourse;

(2) K does not respond immediately to L's request but waits until she has completed her discourse concerning type 3 cabins; and

(3) L returns almost immediately to her sub-group discussion.

These behaviors point to "misfiring" of K's initial attempt at fusion and to L's preferance for her "earring sub-group" topic. In her next two turns, 07 and 09, K can again be seen employing questions as part of fusion-related behavior. In these latter cases note that the questioning of information states appear in a category 3c type of structure (i.e. the questions are at the "apparent" end of an extended discourse).

Rather than continue a detailed analysis I will simply raise some key points regarding these latter two behaviors.

First, note that K employs varying degrees of "performative force" in her questioning at 03, 07 and 09. That is, K switches from questions of Cognition (i.e. information states) to questions of Volition (i.e. wanting and liking). I would suggest that these variations are strategic moves in response to each successive misfiring. That is, K makes use of devices which are increasingly demanding of attention.

Such questioning of volition, rather than simply information state, involves a distinction wherein the perception of "individual causality" comes into play. For example, if within a particular context it is possible to view a particular volitional state as normative (e.g. listeners should want/like to hear rules associated

with the cabin, as in the above) then the questioning of such a state can be seen as a strong request--with social force--for that state to be "taken up" by the listener. In contrast, there are few equivalent strategies (i.e. socially enforceable norms) for specific information states (e.g. knowledge regarding camping cabins). Given the present corpus of data, the act of questioning information states perhaps does not, and can not easily, "hold" such normative (performative) force. I am suggesting then that K's switch in questioning tactics appears to involve a more efficacious, socially enforceable, strategy for achieving listener attention, at least within the context studied here. Further research will be required to verify such a hypothesis.

In addition, as I have suggested above, there appears to be a second misfiring in K's attempt at fusion in 07. Note in this regard that:
(1) K receives no response to her question, in fact her sub-group member C attempts to redirect K with her own question in 08;
(2) the earring sub-group continues its own discourse; and
(3) rather than respond to C's query at 08, K ignores it and continues her discourse, subsequently employing questioning behavior in a third apparent attempt at fusion.

In this third and final attempt at fusion, still further, stronger, strategic variations on the previous questioning behavior occur in 09. Beyond the switch to volitional questioning, K:
(1) uses overhigh stress; and
(2) moves from questioning desires to questioning liking.

The latter phenomenon appears strategically significant. As Searle points out in his recent book, Intentionality: "Intention, for example, is not a fancy form of desire; it would be more accurate to think of desire as a faded form of intention, intention with the Intentional causation bleached out." Thus, it can be suggested here that K's questioning of desire in 07 carries less social "force" (i.e. is more polite) than the questioning of liking in 09.

K's three apparent attempts at fusing the group, through the use of questioning, can be seen to have "misfired"; the earring sub-group continues its parallel discourse. It is not until K's subgroup member C employs a still further dramatic, strategic, variation on the category 3 questioning examples cited above at 03, 07 and 09, that even a short lived fusion of sorts occurs; the "earring" sub-group stops its parallel discourse at this point. However, this "fusion" is short lived: in 15 and 17, D refutes C's "forecast" of a future possible problem, whereupon the "earring" sub-group returns to its own discourse topic, albeit with the "loss" of sub-group partner D, as D continues his discourse with C and K regarding the cabin. D's refutation of C's "forecast" can be seen as an act which blocks fusion.

Below, we continue our examination of these phenomena by extending our investigation to the turns immediately beyond segment 1 (i.e. turn 21 below, where K asserts "We're gunna have a problem", see end of segment 1 also). It is not until after turn 21 that a

"durable" fusion is achieved. The category 3c question, employed at 18, functions not simply to gain attention, but also to sanction those members who are not attending to K's discourse.

Segment 3: [As indicated at the end of segment 1, there is a significant portion of overlapping speech (approx. 15 sec.) following D's refutation of C (see prior discussion). The following are the first decipherable utterances]

Camping discussion	Earring discussion
18 K: Listen we're gonna have a problem here (pause) **Cabin rent includes** electicity,refrigerator,stove, electical outlets,cots with mattresses,tables and chairs, grill outside each cabin **ARE YOU LISTENING?**	19 L: ((L can be heard discussing earrings with M, but the details of their discourse can't be discerned. Saying something about "earring length" and how they should "hang down"))
	20 L: Yea I'm sorry
21 C: **Listen!**	

[K continues her discussion of the camping regulations. The earring sub-group discussion ends at this point and further group discussion centers on camping]

In this final segment we see, for the first time, the use of an explicit question to remark negatively on those not following a one-speaker-at-a-time format. Prior to this, in segment 1, although K did increase the social force of her "indirect requests" for attention, she never appeared to be "licensed" to sanction the earring sub-group for the parallel discourse. However, in the segment above, K's sub-group partner C, as well as K, appear to be licensed (note C's sanctioning behavior in 21). Apparently there is sufficient normative force, associated with the potential camping trip "problem" alluded to in 18, to allow K and C to reimpose a one-speaker-at-a-time normative structure around their own discourse topic. In this manner, "earring sub-group" conversation is fused with the discourse concerning camping (however,see footnote at the bottom of next page).

Note that, at least initially, whether there "is" a "problem" or not is irrelevant. It is the social construction of the "reality" of a potential "problem" which is of relevance for the licensing of sanctioning behavior. Unlike the "problem" suggested by C in turn 14 of segment 1, there is no refutation of the existence of the "problem" asserted by K in 18. The "problem" K is asserting the existence of is not revealed to the group. Yet the very act of proclaiming its existence, in 18, is apparently sufficient for K and C to impose a one-speaker-at-a-time speaking structure. We might look at this act of "calling-attention-to-a-relevant-problem" as a "strong" strategy for members to employ in orienting/fusing others with their discourse topic.

Footnote:

An equally plausible scenario to the one observed above, in segment 3, would have been for the camping sub-group to join the earring sub-group in their discourse. That is, the "deviant" status of the earring sub-group is not inherent in any of the behaviors performed. Rather, the deviant status is negotiated (i.e. formulated) at a certain point in time during interaction. In particular, it is within the context of an asserted "problem" (turn 18) that the sanctioning behaviors by K and C occur. And, additionally, it is within this context, and the associated sanctioning behaviors, that L "recognizes" her own "deviance" and apologizes in turn 20.

SUMMARY

In the work presented here there has been a purposeful intention to avoid the ascription of intentionality to the actors performing the observed behaviors. That is, rather than saying "behavior X is performed in order to do Y" all that can be said is that "behavior X functions to do Y". The reason we make this distinction is twofold:

(1) it is difficult to know how to go about tapping into the intentions, motivations or goals of the speaker; and

(2) it is quite likely, as the Ellis quote suggests, that the behavior is multi-functional and that the speaker may have intended to bring about a state of affairs quite different from those brought about in the process of negotiation; the alternative affairs being equally rule governed and permissible as those intended by the speaker.

That is, if the structural system permits Z, as well as Y, as an appropriate response to X, then just because the speaker performed X in order to bring about Y says little or nothing about the actual consequences of the observable behavior. Claims can only be made for actually observed behavior and this may result either from the speaker's intention or the hearers response. Another way of saying this is to suggest that we need to make a distinction between the overall system of behavioral choices, options and rules available to the interactants and the moment-by-moment intentional choices that speakers make in selecting rule options.

Ultimately research such as the analysis presented here, is not concerned with describing an individual's momentary intentional choice. Rather it is concerned with the entire program of acceptable and unacceptable responses and situations to the performance of X. Even responses by a speaker in response to the "misfiring" of his intention can, in this light, be seen as part of the program (Scheflen, 1968), not part of the intentions of the speaker.

Admittedly such fine grained interpretations have questionable validity. The insights offered above are not meant as incorrigible readings in that they are not intended as finalized knowledge claims. Rather, each segment above is open to alternative readings and understandings, just as any sequence of utterances might be interpreted differently by a variety of hearers in everyday interaction. My aim here has been to suggest that:

(1) the one-speaker-at-a-time structure is not universally normative in the situation studied here; instead

(2) there are a variety of strategic approaches--in particular questions were examined here--which actors employ in achieving fusion; and

(3) competent actors are able to strategically vary the "performative force" of these approaches as "misfires" occur.

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